

Iran's Middle Man / The Senate Sisterhood / **Plus:** The Genius of Benedict Cumberbatch

TIME



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Why the Lone Star State
is America's future

BY TYLER COWEN

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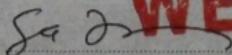


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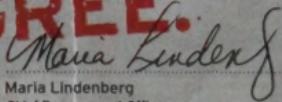
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TIME

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for TIME



Maine Republican Susan Collins arrives at Senate minority leader Mitch McConnell's office on day 16 of the shutdown. Photograph by Andrew Burton—Getty Images

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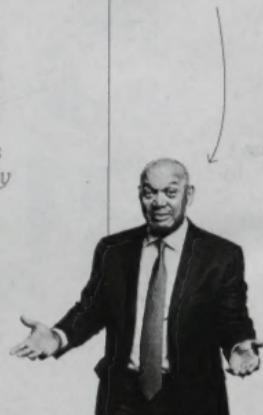
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Editor's Desk

The Texas Model



WATCHING THE PARTISAN BONFIRE IN Washington these past few weeks, it's been easy to focus on the grime of the politics and overlook the scale of the choices. What do we expect from government? What are we willing to pay for? What trade-offs will we accept between freedom and regulation, fairness and opportunity? If you want to see how those choices play out day to day in real life, there's no better place to look than Texas. The Lone Star State is now the U.S.'s North Star, pointing toward the future, with three of the country's five fastest-growing cities. Since 2000, a million more people have moved to Texas than have left, drawn by low taxes, low-cost houses and minimal regulation and undeterred by gaps in education, health care or other public services.

Economist Tyler Cowen's cover story reflects the research that shaped his new book, *Average Is Over*, a bracing look at the forces that in years to come will make some people much richer—and will leave many others further and further behind. "Tyler is that rare free-market adherent who takes rising inequality seriously and has concrete ideas about how to bridge the gap," says Ryan Sager, editorial director for TIME Ideas, who edited the story. If you want to know what people are seeking, Tyler argues, look where they're moving. As for government, since Washington hardly provides a model of progress of any kind, states will be studying one another to see what works. The Texas model is easy to criticize—but the results are impossible to ignore.

Nancy Gibbs, MANAGING EDITOR

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In "Speed Trap" [Oct. 14] we misstated the name of Pocono Raceway and misidentified the race and its location. The race, held at a track owned by Tony Stewart, was part of the NASCAR Camping World Trucks Series and was held in Ohio. We also misstated the number of women in NASCAR's Drive for Diversity program; the correct number is two for 2013.

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It took Illenberger hours to figure out how to arrange the state puzzle pieces into the shape of Texas



Many readers on Twitter shared Omar Waraich's post on Pakistani teen activist Malala Yousafzai's global influence

Amazing 4children2have a humanitarian role model.

@SARABRONFMAN

There are some times I feel that good deeds cannot be just measured by prize. It's always evident by change it brings.

@ABHILEKH

"In Pakistan just ½ of all girls make it to primary school." Now the entire country is talking about it.

@LYNNATALIENTO



BEHIND THE COVER To convey the Texas story visually, Berlin-based illustrator-artist Sarah Illenberger drew a U.S. map on her computer. Then she hired a laser cutter to turn the map into a 30-by-40-in. wooden puzzle, using a computer-linked machine that directed the fine carving of the 50 states. Finally, Illenberger lacquered and spray-painted the pieces (above) and rearranged them into the shape of the Lone Star State.

NOW ON LIGHTBOX *Fatigued by glossy, happy photos of celebrity mothers in the news*, curator Susan Bright set out to collect the works of artists and photographers who challenged traditional views of motherhood. Her resulting exhibition, "Home Truths: Photography, Motherhood and Identity," now in London, is also a book. See more from both at lightbox.time.com.



Untitled by Fred Hüning, a contributor to Bright's photo book and exhibition about motherhood reimagined



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FORTUNE

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Briefing

Medal of Honor

Presented to
Afghan and Iraq
wars vet William
D. Swenson



GOOD WEEK

BAD WEEK



Papal medal

Recalled
after Jesus
was misspelled
Jesus

1 OUT OF 10

Angela Ahrendts will
become the only female
member of Apple's
executive team when the
former Burberry boss joins
the company in 2014



The price Banksy set
for pieces he sold
anonymously in New York
City's Central Park. The
artist's work has sold for
more than \$1 million

**'This has been
one of the
most shameful
chapters
I've seen here.'**

JOHN MCCAIN, Republican
Senator from Arizona,
describing the shutdown and
debt debate in Washington



'She should be here.'

TRICIA NORMAN, a Florida mother whose daughter Rebecca Sedwick, 12, committed suicide last month. Two girls,
ages 12 and 14, were charged Oct. 14 with aggravated stalking for bullying Sedwick before her death

**'That
prize
should
have
been
given
to me.'**

BASHAR ASSAD,
President of Syria,
referring to the Nobel
Peace Prize in an
apparent joke to a
Lebanese newspaper


**'YOU HAVE
TO HONOR
YOUR
SIGNATURE.'**

CHRISTINE LAGARDE,
managing director of the
International Monetary Fund,
on *Meet the Press*, discussing
the risks of the U.S.
government's defaulting
on its debt



16.1
million



People who tuned in for
the season premiere of
The Walking Dead, the
largest audience in the
cable show's history



**'My brother
sleeps in ... I called him
and I said, "Did you hear
the news?" And he said,
"The Tigers lost."**

ROBERT SHILLER,
Yale economist,
on his brother's
reaction to
his winning the
Nobel Prize



Briefline

LightBox

A Sleepy's Throw

Philadelphia's Sleepy's Throw is a unique tradition during elections to honor the West Side city of Philadelphia's City Hall. Children from surrounding neighborhoods in the West Side's seven city neighborhoods take turns

Produced by McDonald
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World

Moscow's Ethnic Riots Signal Official Xenophobia

When riots hit Moscow on Oct. 13, sparked by a murder for which a migrant worker from the Caucasus was blamed, Russian authorities were forced to make a choice: condemn xenophobia or embrace it. They chose to embrace it. Sergei Sobyanin, Moscow's new mayor, sided with the violent mob of ethnic Russians who attacked the city's migrant workers. Instead of defending the victims, Sobyanin ordered police to arrest hundreds of migrants, and his orders were carried out seemingly at random. Instead of pledging to fix the damaged businesses, Sobyanin ordered them shut for using migrant labor. "It's their own fault,"

he told reporters after the riots. His response followed the logic of this summer's mayoral elections, the first to bring xenophobia into mainstream Russian politics. Previously, the elites around President Vladimir Putin had avoided the issue of migrant labor, leaving it to fringe parties and ultranationalists. But Sobyanin, Putin's former chief of staff, made it the core of his campaign, playing on Russians' fears of being overrun by foreign laborers. When he issued several orders throughout August for police to arrest thousands of migrants, critics said he was pandering to the xenophobes. But a month after he won the vote, the mob turned Sobyanin's rhetoric into violence, with many rioters chanting, "Russia for Russians." Muscovites brace for worse to come.



Police raided a produce warehouse in Moscow and detained alleged illegal migrants on Oct. 14.

MALTA

'We are just building a cemetery.'

JOSEPH MUSCAT, Prime Minister of Malta,* using his action title—several overcrowded boats carrying migrants—mostly from North Africa—captured in the Mediterranean, killing hundreds. Italian Prime Minister Enrico Letta announced plans to boost surveillance to make the journey safer



HOUSEHOLD-WEALTH CHANGES IN THE PAST YEAR

A new global wealth report by Credit Suisse shows percentages of gains and losses:

+60%
Libya

+18%
Azerbaijan

+13%
U.S.



-11%
Egypt

-16%
Argentina

-21%
Japan



The Explainer

Why MERS Could Become a Global Threat

A year after it was first reported, researchers still know little about Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS), the virus responsible for at least 60 deaths in 138 cases—mostly in Saudi Arabia. The fear is that the influx of some 2 million Muslim pilgrims for the hajj this month could provide optimal conditions for transforming a regional outbreak into a global one:

► INCONCLUSIVE RESEARCH

Scientists initially nabbed a bat as the natural reservoir—RNA of the virus or a similar one was found in bat feces—and say wildlife or domestic animals might be intermediaries in spreading the virus to humans. That path of transmission isn't understood.

► INADEQUATE SURVEILLANCE

Researchers know animals are involved, but some fault the Saudis for lax efforts in finding evidence. The kingdom has boosted human sampling, but the hunt for clues from animals is just getting under way.

► OPAQUE INFORMATION SHARING

Critics have pressed Saudi officials to be more transparent about how the virus spreads; others say caution is appropriate to avoid causing hysteria about a mysterious threat.

► BUDGET CUTS RAISE RISKS

Federal spending cuts in the U.S. led to a 5.5% decrease in the National Institutes of Health's budget; furloughs at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention due to the government shutdown are fueling concerns that its response to an emergency will be delayed.



After the Storm

INDIA A woman returns to Arjipalli village, in the Ganjam district of Orissa state, on Oct. 13, a day after Cyclone Phailin struck. The death toll—at least 21 people—was relatively low thanks to massive evacuations as the strongest storm to hit India in a decade, with winds of 125 m.p.h. (200 km/h), approached from the Bay of Bengal. Floods destroyed thousands of thatch-roofed homes, and hundreds of millions of dollars in crops were ruined. *Photograph by Biswaranjan Rout—AP*

Roundup Ireland's Road to Recovery

Prime Minister Enda Kenny announced that Ireland could exit its E.U. and IMF bailout on Dec. 15, becoming the first euro-zone country to do so. After four years of austerity, two recessions and \$113.5 billion in bailout money, Ireland is still economically fragile but recovering. Here's how the recovery breaks down:



GDP

Annual economic output, currently \$55 billion, has been stagnant for years. At the peak of the financial crisis in 2009, the GDP hit a low of \$53.4 billion.



Wages

During the recession, the country's wages fell almost 5% from 2008, to \$925.69 a week at the beginning of 2010. They rebounded to almost \$946 at the end of June 2013.



Unemployment

The unemployment rate peaked at about 15% at the beginning of 2012; it has since fallen to about 13%, slightly above the European average of about 12%.



Industry

The construction sector posted 4.2% growth after being left shattered in 2007; housing prices have also begun to rise, growing 10% in Dublin.

AUSTRIA

19

Minimum number of living male descendants in western Tyrol who scientists say share lineage with Ötzi the Iceman, whose 5,300-year-old body was found frozen in the Italian Alps in 1991



Trending In



LAW

Belgium arrested a wanted Somali pirate chief after luring him into a trap with a promise to make a biopic about him.



LABOR

Garment workers at a factory in Bangladesh freed their boss held captive in his office for 18 hours after he paid them a promised bonus.



RELIGION

A Malaysian court ruled that a Catholic newspaper cannot use Allah to refer to God, deciding it's specific to Muslims.



GOVERNANCE

For the fourth time in five years, no head of state won the Ibrahim Prize for good governance in Africa.



Mo Ibrahim

Nation

The World Is Watching Now

Online activists bring attention to a small-town controversy

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

FOLKS IN NODAWAY COUNTY, Missouri, know a thing or two about small-town justice. The rural area near the Iowa and Nebraska borders is home to the hamlet of Skidmore, where—one sunny morning in 1981—the town bully was shot dead by two gunmen. On the town's main street. In front of more than 30 witnesses. To this day, no one has said who did it.

But small-town secrets are hard to keep when the vigilantes of the digital universe saddle up. News that once was swept under the rug now spreads like a thunderclap, as Nodaway County learned when the loose alliance of Internet activists known as Anonymous alerted the world to a possible rape case in which a well-connected boy skated free of any charges.

The story, detailed in an Oct. 12 report in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, is chilling. Two girls, 14 and 13 years old, sneaked out to join a group of older football players at a party last year in Maryville, the Nodaway County seat. After the girls became drunk, a 17-year-old boy had sex with the 14-year-old, while another boy stood by with an iPhone video camera running. Afterward, the boys left the girl on her front porch, nearly unconscious in subfreezing temperatures. The 13-year-old told police that she too had been assaulted by another older boy.

Nodaway sheriff Darren White told the *Star* his team swiftly compiled the evidence and he expected to see the boys in court. But county prosecutor Robert Rice dropped the charges, saying the evidence

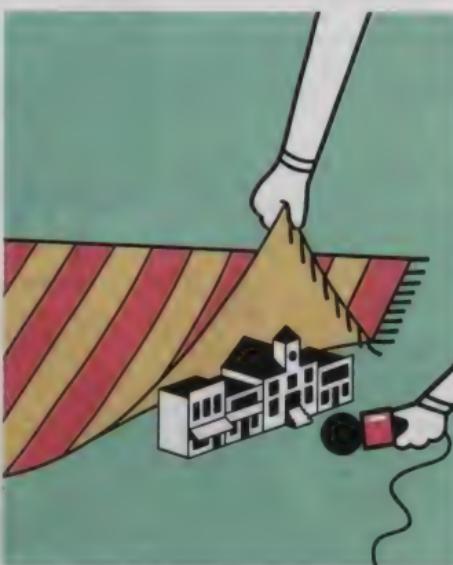
was inconclusive. The 17-year-old—the grandson of a former state representative—went to college rather than to prison.

The case ripped Maryville apart, as many in the town shrugged and said boys will be boys. Melinda Coleman, mother of the 14-year-old, lost her job, and a mysterious fire left her house in ashes. In earlier times, that might have been the end of it. But Anonymous focused the digital universe on Maryville: city-linked websites were apparently hacked; a popular local restaurant was bombarded with hostile Yelp reviews; the topic lit up Twitter. The state's lieutenant governor has since

called for an investigation.

The alleged rapes and seeming lack of justice had familiar echoes. Last year, Anonymous swarmed Steubenville, Ohio, after high school football players sexually assaulted an unconscious teenager and recorded the attack on a smartphone. Like Maryville's, the case had been a local story until Anonymous and other online activists shone their spotlight.

It should not, then, have been too great a surprise when Anonymous announced, "Maryville, expect us," in an online statement. The rough justice of the electronic frontier was on its way.



AIR TRAFFIC

FAA: In A Holding Pattern

Prepare to spend even more time waiting in airports. A perfect storm of events—delays in the hiring and training of air-traffic controllers because of the government shutdown and federal budget cuts, combined with a glut of controllers eligible for retirement—could create a shortage of the men and women who keep planes moving. By the end of 2016, about 4,500 of the nation's 14,602 controllers will be able to retire, according to the FAA's most recent projections. That's almost a third of the current workforce.

Efforts to replenish the ranks, largely hired after the nationwide controller strike in 1981, hit a snag when the government sequester shut the FAA's training academy and imposed a hiring freeze. In 2012, the FAA projected it would bring in 1,234 new controllers in 2013. The agency has added just 554. "So many pieces in the machine have to work in unison," says Doug Church of the National Air Traffic Controllers Association. "There are not enough people in the pipeline." —ELIZA GRAY

Health



Shop Till You Drop Early glitches could turn into much bigger problems for Obamacare

BY KATE PICKERT

PRESIDENT OBAMA PROMISED it would be as easy as buying a TV from Amazon.com. But purchasing a health-insurance plan through government websites hasn't turned out that way. Tech glitches and lousy design continue to plague HealthCare.gov, the federal website where people in more than 30 states can buy insurance. The launch has been so poorly managed that even Obama's former spokesman, Robert Gibbs, is calling for scalps. "I hope they fire some people that were in charge of making sure that this thing was supposed to work," he said.

It's not a good sign that

the federal government won't even say how many people have purchased plans in the first two weeks of operation. New York has claimed just 40,000 completed applications, and Washington State boasts just 25,000, a rate far short of what the White House was hoping for as it aimed to sign up 7 million enrollees by next year.

Federal officials blame high demand for crashing servers, but political calculations may also have played a role. Worries over enrollee sticker shock led HealthCare.gov initially to not display insurance plans and prices unless users registered for accounts. That's odd

in an age when people are accustomed to shopping online for virtually anything and comparing prices from multiple sites simultaneously. The design created a bottleneck that led to long delays.

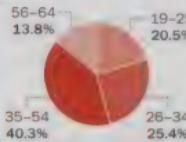
If not repaired, the early troubles may lead to bigger problems. For Obamacare to work, generally healthy people, not just the sick without insurance, need to be persuaded to join. White House officials say there is still time to fix the problems, and they point to Massachusetts, which implemented a version of Obamacare in 2007 and where most of those who signed up waited until the last minute to do so.

Closing the Coverage Gap

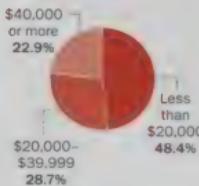
TARGET AUDIENCE

There are more than 40 million American adults without insurance. To have a plan by Jan. 1, people must sign up through the error-prone exchanges by Dec. 15.

Nearly half of uninsured adults are under age 35



About 3 in 4 uninsured adults have a household income of less than \$40,000



Notes: Based on 2011 data; excludes those younger than 18 and older than 64.

Tech

Advertisements Starring ... You

Popular sites are trying to cash in on users' connections

BY NOAH RAYMAN

YOUR FRIENDS MAY BE THE MOST effective pitchmen. In the latest sign that technology firms are increasingly deploying users' data to boost ads, Google announced on Oct. 11 that it was changing its terms of service to allow the company to combine users' posts, reviews and profile photos in advertisements beginning next month. Here's how it works: a user searching Google for, say, a date-night restaurant might see text ads promoting a local eatery—along with a friend's face and review on the firm's social network, Google+. A whopping 87% of the search giant's \$50 billion in annual revenue comes from advertising, and Google is betting this information will make ads clickier.

Rival Facebook has already found that pitching products with a friend's endorsement—a Like or positive post—makes for more powerful ads, which accounted for most of the social network's \$5 billion in revenue last year. Research firm eMarketer estimates that the so-called social-ad business will be worth \$9.5 billion in U.S. sales this year. But it can be a risky business. In August, a judge approved Facebook's settlement of a class-action suit over employing users in ads, and the company agreed to give them control over when they're drafted to promote a product. "They're still walking a tightrope," explains consultant Jake Wengroff of firms trying such ads. The practice, he says, can alienate users and open companies to privacy suits. Still, given the potential profits in better ads, analysts say it might be a risk worth taking. Here's a look at what companies are trying.



Hello Tomorrow

Emirates



Find your work-life groove

From laid back to more upbeat, you'll find a range of inspirations in our Business Class. Savor gourmet cuisine, laugh through the latest comedies or tap your feet to your favorite tracks. Get in tune with the business of living.

emirates.com/us

Milestones



DIED

Scott Carpenter

American space pioneer

It's one of the lyrical ironies of Scott Carpenter's life that in a career framed by klieg lights and rocket fire, he is best known for a quiet, almost personal utterance. Carpenter, one of NASA's original seven astronauts and a former naval aviator, who died Oct. 10 at age 88, was the on-ground capsule communicator on the day in February 1962 that John Glenn became the first American to orbit Earth.

After the engines on Glenn's rocket lit and the giant machine began to rise off the pad, Carpenter muttered a simple "Godspeed, John Glenn," a remark that was picked up by his microphone to be heard and remembered around the world. Just three months later, Carpenter got his own Godspeeds when he replicated Glenn's flight, successfully orbiting Earth three times. But he had problems on the way back down, with technical glitches requiring him to fire his retro-rockets manually, leading to a delay of three seconds before they actually lit. It's a measure of the performance knife-edge on which the astronauts flew that after a journey of nearly five hours, such a tiny miscue was all it took to throw Carpenter nearly 300 miles (483 km) off course.

Rescue crews needed more than 40 minutes to find him after he splashed down—40 minutes in which the country feared he was dead. Carpenter later reported that he felt a profound sense of peace as he drifted in his life raft, looking at the Caribbean Sea beneath him and the ocean of space above him and contemplating both the discordance and the symmetry between the two. May he find even greater peace on the vastly larger ocean on which he has just set sail. Godspeed.

—JEFFREY KLUGER

DIED

Oscar Hijuelos, 62, American-born novelist of Cuban descent and the first Latino to win the Pulitzer Prize for fiction, in 1989, for *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love*, which later became a film starring Antonio Banderas.

AWARDED

To Eleanor Catton, 28, Britain's Man Booker Prize, for her 832-page novel, *The Luminaries*. She is the youngest winner in the award's history.

WON

By the Minnesota Lynx, the team's second WNBA championship in three years. The Lynx went undefeated in the playoffs, and forward Maya Moore was named the Finals MVP.

DIED

Chuck Smith, 86, evangelical minister best known for cultivating young "Jesus freaks" and preaching to the flower children of the late 1960s.

DIED

Maxine Powell, 98, who, beginning in 1964, was a mentor and style-and-department coach to five decades' worth of Motown Records stars, including Diana Ross and Marvin Gaye.

DIED

Erich Priebke, 100, oldest surviving convicted Nazi war criminal, who was sentenced to life in prison for executing more than 300 men and boys in Italy during World War II.

DIED

Stanley Kauffmann
Old master of movie criticism

I spent time with Stanley Kauffmann only once, on a flight in December 1971. What I remember most acutely from that couple of hours we shared was Stanley's august presence. An actor in his youth, he spoke in elegant modulations and carried himself regally. His wavy gray hair and the upward tilt of his chin gave him a movie-presidential bearing. George Washington merging into FDR. His reputation was even loftier, as a careful writer who spoke his mind with a tart elegance; he piled his craft in solitary Olympian grandeur. As we flew through the clouds, he might as well have gestured out the window and said, "This is where I live."

Unlike most film critics of the past 40 years, whose primary salaries have come from daily or weekly journalism, Stanley, who died Oct. 9 at 97, had a life before and beyond movies. He was an actor, playwright, stage manager, novelist and editor and always a teacher, in prose and in person. He called on his diverse CV to lend erudition and life knowledge to his reviews in the *New Republic*, where his 55-year tenure must set a record for the mutual loyalty of a critic and his magazine. —RICHARD CORLISS



TIME

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Kathleen Parker

Count Yourself Lucky

Is our growing obsession with self-tracking obscuring the deeper meaning of our lives?

IT PROBABLY STARTED WITH BOTTS' dots—those raised reflective pavement markers that notify sleepy drivers when they're crossing the center line. I used to count them as a child when riding shotgun with my father. It gave me something to do in my idle time, of which there seemed to be so much in the predigital age. Looking back, I recognize the early signs of obsessive-compulsive behavior, which fortunately resolved themselves as other interests intervened. I still count some things, but I can quit anytime. Really.

For those of us who never understood what was wrong with that fellow lining up the soup cans in *Sleeping With the Enemy*, quantifying is no longer viewed with suspicion or concern. In fact, the quantifying self—i.e., self-knowledge through numbers—was projected as one of 2012's big trends. Earlier this month, the Quantified Self Global Conference held its fifth meeting, a sort of show-and-tell during which self-trackers share their counting ways.

In a video on the Quantified Self's website, a young man from Boston reveals how he transformed his weight and fitness through a number of self-quantifying tools, including Weight Watchers, RunKeeper, MyFitnessPal, a Garmin Forerunner watch and the Nike+ system. Another reports using various sleep and biomarker data to maintain himself in "optimized zones" for long-term health.

MYSELF CONFESS TO A RECENT ADDICTION TO FITNESS bands. Thus far, I've tried two of the top five—the Nike+ Fuelband and Jawbone UP bracelets. Both serve as pedometers, and the Jawbone measures sleep. At the risk of promoting one or the other, let me just say that for now I'm jawboning. The Jawbone (JB) is a narrow, Star Trek-looking wristlet that nonwearers often mistake for jewelry and ask where I bought it. Inconspicuous and delicate, it may as well be a flashing light to fellow wearers, who recognize one another the way humans do during body-snatching alien invasions. Sometimes they just shout it out, shamelessly pointing to a stranger's wrist: "Did it change your life as much as it changed mine?" To which he or she (usually she) reliably replies, "OMG, yes!!!"

It is not an overstatement to say that my JB and I have become one. Recently, when I glanced down at my right wrist and noticed it missing, I panicked.

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Feeling naked and alone, I retraced the previous day's every step, calling to see if anyone had seen my little navy strip of OCD bling. Now we're reunited, and I am once again able to plug my bracelet into my phone, which has a free app that informs me that last night I enjoyed 5 hr. 23 min. of deep sleep (despite being in bed for 8 hr. 30 min.) and that otherwise I am a lazy schlump who took only 3,249 steps.

This is where things begin to get interesting. Note: the band tells you how you're doing on the basis of your own goals. Mine are to get eight hours of sleep and to take 10,000 steps daily, which is roughly five miles. I manage both occasionally, though meeting my step goal requires planning and time. Not surprisingly, failure to meet my goals inspires guilt and self-loathing.

What is surprising is that I also feel resentment toward my little nag band and find myself offering excuses and, you guessed it, self-justification. (Notice how often the word *self* pops up in this discussion.) When JB tells me I've been in bed for nine hours and got only three to five hours of deep sleep, I hiss, "Yes, but I was reading!" Actually, I was probably playing solitaire on my iPad, racing to beat my own record, which is, of course, quantified against those of other solitaire players in the universe. This is no way to relax, I should mention. As for taking fewer than 4,000 steps, well, it was raining.

But never mind. For JB, it's all about the numbers. No excuses, no whining. It is a fact that I can't pull anything over on him. He has his talons gripping my pulse and knows me better than anyone. He sees when I am sleeping; he knows when I'm awake. What else does he know?

The creepy feeling surfaces that the bracelets we wear voluntarily are but precursors to those we will wear involuntarily as we become more digitized and systematized. How long before JB and his ilk deliver not just information but little shocks to the collars of those who lounge too long on their tuffets?

I'm not yet ready to part company with my minder, but I can feel my passion for self-quantification ebbing. Partly, this is recognition that those things that bring us satisfaction—loving, giving, allowing our mental fields to lie fallow—are unquantifiable, which is what gives them special status in the well-lived life. Not knowing, not keeping track, not making endless lists, not charting our sleep and graphing our activities ultimately may prove to be the saner way to live, in countless ways.

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Robin Wright

Iran's Man on Wire

The country's chief envoy faces a tricky balancing act



WHEN MOHAMMED JAVAD ZARIF LEFT the U.N. in 2007, I asked what he had achieved in five years as Tehran's ambassador. "Not much," he said with a sigh. "A stupid idealist who has not achieved anything in his diplomatic life after giving one-sided concessions—this is what I'm called in Iran." He flew home depressed, faded into academia and vowed not to return to diplomacy.

Over the past two months, however, Zarif has re-emerged to lead Tehran's boldest overture to the West since the 1979 revolution. Iran's charismatic new President Hassan Rouhani clearly commissioned the initiative, but his new Foreign Minister is the plan's architect.

THIS IS THE COMEBACK OF A DIPLOMATIC lifetime. "A second chance," Zarif told me last month. And a huge risk. If he fails to make a deal limiting Tehran's nuclear capabilities—on Oct. 15, Zarif sat down in Geneva with the world's six major powers for a fresh round of negotiations—Iran could face punishing military strikes.

The talks went well, Zarif and top E.U. diplomat Catherine Ashton agreed. The negotiators will reconvene on Nov. 7.

Skeptics claim Zarif is merely buying time with all this talking so Tehran can work on developing nuclear weapons. "We know that deception is part of the [Iranian] DNA," State Department Under Secretary Wendy Sherman, chief U.S. negotiator in Geneva, warned a Senate committee on Oct. 3.

But Zarif has also built a following in Washington. "He doesn't play games," says Senate Select Committee on Intelligence chair Dianne Feinstein, who met Zarif in 2006 and was among a number of members of Congress who talked to him at the U.N. in September. "I think a deal is doable."

Zarif has the ear of Supreme Leader Ayatullah Ali Khamenei and was approached by three of the six candidates in June's presidential election to be their prospective Foreign Minister. But he has also been lauded by the likes of Democrat Joe Biden and Republican Chuck Hagel when they were in the Senate. And he earned a University of Denver doctorate under the same professors who taught Condoleezza Rice.



Time to talk
Zarif at a press conference in Baghdad on Sept. 8

Zarif is not just the man of the moment, however. He helped create the moment by being at the heart of virtually every key deal Tehran struck with the U.S. for two decades, beginning in the late 1980s. He was the "invaluable" liaison in talks that freed dozens of foreign hostages seized by pro-Iranian militias in Lebanon in the 1980s, former U.N. official and hostage negotiator Giandomenico Picco says. And after the 2001 U.S. intervention in Afghanistan, U.S. diplomats credited the Iranian envoy with persuading the Afghan opposition to accept the U.S. formula for a new government in Kabul.

The danger—to Zarif and to the chances of a deal—may be that Zarif actually has too many American contacts. He was fiercely grilled by hard liners during his parliamentary confirmation, just days before the Geneva talks. A conservative newspaper claimed Zarif had deemed "inappropriate" the phone call between Presidents Obama and Rouhani at the end of the U.N. General Assembly. Zarif said he'd been misquoted, but the stress triggered nervous spasms that sent him to the hospital. Winning over the powerful hard-liners

in Iran's complex power structure will continue to pose a huge challenge to Zarif—and Rouhani.

THE REAL QUESTION," SAYS RYAN CROCKER, A veteran of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East who has dealt with Zarif since 2003, "is whether hard-liners in both Tehran and Washington sabotage whatever comes out of this effort to resolve the nuclear issue and improve U.S.-Iran relations."

A host of issues will divide the two nations for years to come. But for the first time in 34 years, Zarif's frenetic diplomacy has spurred talk of détente between Tehran and Washington. When asked in New York City last month about the potential shape of future ties between Iran and the U.S., Zarif invoked the relationship between the U.S. and Russia, in which deep differences remain but communication and occasional collaboration continue nonetheless. It's a model far preferable to the military alternative. "This time," Zarif told me, "I can't afford to fail."

Wright is a joint fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace and the Woodrow Wilson Center

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NATION

THE LAST POLITICIANS

The 20 women in the Senate are cutting deals, passing bills and looking like the only adults left in Washington By Jay Newton-Small





Getting it done Senators Murkowski, Ayotte, center, and Collins, right, broke the logjam to open the government and avert default

Photograph by Andrew Burton

At one of the darkest moments

of the government shutdown, with markets dipping and both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue hurling icy recriminations, Maine Republican Susan Collins went to the Senate floor to do two things that none of her colleagues had yet attempted. She refrained from partisan blame and proposed a plan to end the crisis. "I ask my Democratic and Republican colleagues to come together," Collins said on Oct. 8. "We can do it. We can legislate responsibly and in good faith."

Senate Appropriations Committee chair Barbara Mikulski, a Maryland Democrat, happened to be standing nearby, and she soon picked up a microphone and joined in. "Let's get to it. Let's get the job done," she said. "I am willing to negotiate. I am willing to compromise." Ten minutes later, a third Senator stood to speak. "I am pleased to stand with my friend from Maine, Senator Collins, as she has described a plan which I think is pretty reasonable," said Alaska Republican Lisa Murkowski. "I think it is pretty sensible."

As with most anything that happens on C-SPAN, the burst of bipartisan vibes was meant to send a message. But behind the scenes, the wheels really were turning. Most of the Senate's 20 women had gathered the previous night for pizza, salad and wine in the offices of New Hampshire Senator Jeanne Shaheen, a Democrat. All the buzz that night was about Collins' plan to reopen the government with some basic compromises. Senator Amy Klobuchar, a Minnesota Democrat, proposed adding the repeal of the unpopular medical-device tax. Senate Agriculture Committee chair Debbie Stabenow suggested pulling revenue from her stalled farm bill. In policy terms, it was a potluck dinner.

In the hours that followed, those discussions attracted more Senators, including some men, and yielded a plan that would lead to genuine talks between Senate leaders Harry Reid and Mitch McConnell to end the shutdown. The pieces were all there: extending the debt ceiling and reopening the government with minor adjustments to the implementation of



Obamacare. No one doubted the origin. "The women are an incredibly positive force because we like each other," Klobuchar boasted to *TIME* as the negotiations continued. "We work together well, and we look for common ground."

IT'S QUITE AN IRONY THAT THE U.S. SENATE was once known for having the worst vestiges of a private men's club: unspoken rules, hidden alliances, off-hours socializing and an ethic based at least as much on personal relationships as merit to get things done. That Senate—a fraternal paradise that worked despite all its obvious shortcomings—is long gone. And now the only place the old boys' network seems to function anymore is among the four Republicans and 16 Democrats who happen to be women.

Cigars and poker are out. The women's club offers some of the same benefits that came in the original men's version,

as well as some updates: mentor lunches and regular dinners, started decades ago by Mikulski, the longest-serving woman in the Senate, but also bridal and baby showers and playdates for children and grandchildren. An unspoken rule among what Collins calls "the sisterhood" holds that the women refrain from publicly criticizing one another. And there is a deep sense that more unites them personally than divides them politically. "One of the things we do a bit better is listen," says North Dakota Democrat Heidi Heitkamp. "It is about getting people in a room with different life experiences who will look at things a little differently because they're moms, because they're daughters who've been taking care of senior moms, because they have a different life experience than a lot of senior guys in the room."

The notion that women in power function differently from men, more



The Cardinal Maryland's Barbara Mikulski, above left, who entered the Senate in 1987, is the undisputed leader of the women's caucus

collaboratively and thus more effectively, has long been an intuitively appealing but empirically unproven theory. Lately, the U.S. Senate has been running a lab test. Women now chair or sit as ranking members of 10 of the Senate's 20 committees and are responsible for passing the vast majority of legislation this year, whether it be the budget, the transportation bill, the farm bill, the Water Resources Development Act or the Violence Against Women Act. They have driven the debate on everything from derivatives reform to sexual assault in the military. Perhaps most important, they are showing how to make things happen. "I am very proud that these women are stepping forward,"

says Senator John McCain, the Arizona Republican. "Imagine what they could do if there were 50 of them."

Civility Above All

WHATEVER ANYONE SAYS, OFFICIAL WASHINGTON remains a hidebound city. At the White House and on K Street, women still struggle for the top jobs, and in the House, the sole chairwoman, Candice Miller, leads a committee that oversees the Capitol's in-house staff, cleaning and maintenance, shops and gardens. Inappropriate behavior, casual chauvinism and old-fashioned views of gender roles still pervade everyday life. A Senator waiting to get on an elevator once barked at Klobuchar that it was for Senators only. Her aide informed the man that she was a Senator. As the doors slid closed on his stunned face, Klobuchar quipped with a smile, "And who are you?" Almost all the Senate women have stories of being kept out of rooms, clubs, caucuses and huddles, of being patronized, hit on and scolded for abandoning their children. "Running for Senate, I did get a number of people who would ask, 'What's going to happen to your children?'" Kelly Ayotte, Republican Senator from New Hampshire, says. "My husband would be offended by that too."

Against that backdrop, the private gatherings among the sisterhood are a source of both power and perspective. They occur every few weeks or months, depending on the need. Venues include the Senators' homes—and occasionally the unlikely confines of the Capitol's Strom Thurmond Room, a space named for one of the chamber's most notorious womanizers. "We started the dinners 20 years ago on the idea that there has to be a zone of civility," says Mikulski. Once a year the group also dines with the female Supreme Court Justices. Dianne Feinstein, who chairs the Select Committee on Intelligence, holds regular dinners for women in the national-security world. Even the female chiefs of staff and communications directors have started regular get-togethers of their own. In April the Senate women breached their no-outsider rule by agreeing to dine at the White House with President Obama. Going around the table, California Senator Barbara Boxer remarked that 100 years ago they'd have been meeting outside the White House gates to demand the right to vote. ("A hundred years ago, I'd have been serving you," Obama replied.)

It's a diverse group, ranging in age from

Feinstein, who is 80, to Ayotte, who is 45. Feinstein makes herself available to every new female Senator who wants advice on how she runs her offices. In her trademark pearls, she is Pacific Heights proper and even has a dress code for her staff: stockings and skirts of a certain length. Meanwhile, Ayotte and New York Senator Kirsten Gillibrand, a Democrat, get down and dirty during softball practice for a charity team they both play on and have been spotted in their offices in sneakers, still covered in mud.

Close political alliances have developed among several of the women. Boxer has taken a special interest in Massachusetts' Elizabeth Warren—both are liberal firebrands. Democrat Claire McCaskill, who hails from a red state and faced a tough re-election campaign last year, made a point of courting Republican friendships early on. Sometimes those friendships trump party: Ayotte refused to campaign for fellow Republican Todd Akin, McCaskill's opponent in 2012, and pointedly condemned him when he started sharing his theories about how women's biology offers a natural defense against pregnancy from "legitimate" rape.

In private and public, strict rules of civility are enforced. At one recent dinner, Warren brought up antiabortion bills pending in the House, railing against Republicans for their "war against women." Her complaint was greeted with admonitions from her fellow Democrats: We don't talk about partisan issues here. Two of the 20 women are pro-life: Ayotte and Nebraska Republican Deb Fischer.

A Greater Responsibility

WHEN HEITKAMP VOTED AGAINST TIGHTENING gun laws after the Newtown school shooting, she was unprepared for the backlash, particularly from women's groups. "A female friend in the Senate said to me, 'You know, it's because they feel you represent all women, not just the women of North Dakota,'" Heitkamp says. "And it just clicked for me for the first time. I was like, 'Oh, now I get it!'"

Most of the Senators say they feel they speak not just for the voters in their states but for women across America. Over the years they have pushed through legislation that has vastly expanded funding of women's and children's health research, testing and treatment. They've passed the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act and other anti-discrimination laws. And they've won federally mandated maternity and family



medical leave. While most of these efforts were driven by Democrats, the women are strongest when they unite on legislation like the Homemakers IRA, which allows tax-deductible contributions to retirement plans by stay-at-home parents.

In April 2011, at the end of the budget debate, Patty Murray, a Democratic Senator from Washington, got a call at home from majority leader Reid summoning her to the Capitol. It was 11 p.m., and she found a room full of men who'd been working to avert a government shutdown. They said they were close to a deal, but cuts to Planned Parenthood sought by House Republicans were still on the table. Murray, who is the highest-ranking female Senator in leadership, hit the roof. "Absolutely not," she recalls telling them. She organized four press conferences with female members over the next three days to highlight the importance of Planned Parenthood for providing not just abortions but also contraception, mammograms and children's health. The funding was preserved.

That doesn't mean the women always win. During the immigration-bill markup, Hawaii's Mazie Hirono grilled South Carolina Republican Lindsey Graham about college-diploma requirements for new visas. She noted the disparity in female access to education in the developing world. "Could you share with us how you think that unmarried women would fare under the merit system?" asked Hirono, who immigrated with her mother to

Gang of 20 *Their combined power is greater than ever, but they still have a long way to go*

the U.S. as a child. Graham replied that they could come with their families. Hirono, Murkowski and 10 other women introduced an amendment to allot visas to health workers, nannies and those in other traditionally female professions. Though the measure was popular, it failed to get a vote in the Senate.

What Hasn't Changed

MOST OF THE LEGISLATION PASSED BY female chairs this year has been gender blind. Stabenow's farm bill, Boxer's transportation and water-resources bill, Murray's budget and Mikulski's appropriations bills. All four of those chairwomen say their success comes from a willingness to deal and a disinclination to grandstand. Stabenow divvied up the farm bill like "a big sister handing out chores," says Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy, a Democrat on the Agriculture Committee. And she was tough: Leahy said he was glad when the bill passed, if only to stop Stabenow "from calling me in the middle of the night." Mikulski is effective, says Reid, because "everyone's afraid of her."

Some elements of Senate life, meanwhile, remain unchanged. Women still

have a long way to go to match the clout of their male colleagues. Twenty-five states have yet to elect a woman to the Senate. Many committees have yet to see female chairs. A recent Institute for Women's Policy Research study showed that at the current rate, it would take more than a century for women to reach parity in Congress.

Collins and her co-conspirators get the lion's share of the credit for starting the process to break the weeks-long stalemate over government spending and the debt ceiling. "We need to be pragmatic. This is not going to be a Republican solution or a Democratic solution. This is going to be a solution that is good for the country," Murkowski told NBC's *Today* show on Oct. 16. "The six women that have been working together do have a good bipartisan solution." But even the fate of their bid to end the shutdown was illustrative of how far women have to go in the Senate. Shortly after proposing a basic outline and convening a working group of 12 Senators—half of them women—Collins and her crew found the negotiations co-opted by the two party leaders, both male. Though much of the Collins plan became a part of the final talks, particularly the timelines and some small changes to Obamacare, the women no longer had control of the process.

That will likely have to wait a few more years, until a woman takes her place as majority or minority leader. ■

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OF THE FIVE FASTEST-GROWING CITIES ARE IN TEXAS. IT'S MORE LIKE DESTINY. BY TYLER COWEN



THEY SAY THE LONE STAR STATE HAS FOUR

seasons: drought, flood, blizzard and twister. This summer 97% of the state was in a persistent drought; in 2011 the Dallas-Fort Worth area experienced 40 straight days in July and August of temperatures of 100° or higher. The state's social services are thin. Welfare benefits are skimpy. Roughly a quarter of residents have no health insurance. Many of its schools are less than stellar. Property-crime rates are high. Rates of murder and other violent crimes are hardly sterling either. A recent report from the FBI found that the home state of Chuck Norris led the nation as the place the most people got punched or kicked to death in 2012.

So why are more Americans moving to Texas than to any other state?

Texas has acquired a certain cool factor recently. The pundit Marshall Wittmann has called it "America's America," the place where Americans go when they need a fresh start. The state's ethnic and cultural diversity has made places like Austin and Marfa into magnets for artists and other bohemians.

But I believe the real reason Americans are headed to Texas is much simpler. As an economist and a libertarian, I have become convinced that whether they know it or not, these migrants are being pushed (and pulled) by the major economic forces that are reshaping the American economy as a whole: the hollowing out of the middle class, the increased costs of living in the U.S.'s established population centers and the resulting search by many Americans for a radically cheaper way to live and do business.

One of these pioneers is Casey Colando. When he was just 19, he bought—sight unseen—five acres of Big Bend mountain desert country in Texas as an investment. It was just \$300 an acre, far away both culturally and geographically from his native upstate New York. Four years later,

in 2008, Colando moved to his homestead in the magnificent but remote region of West Texas.

A graduate of the State University of New York at Canton, where he studied alternative energy, Colando now lives with his wife, Sara, some 80 miles from the nearest town (Alpine, pop. 6,000). The couple bought more land adjoining their original property, and they run an alternative-energy business that serves various settlers who have moved to this isolated corner of Texas—helping their neighbors eschew what Colando calls "the big electric company" and live off the grid by installing solar and wind power.

Colando says he first tried to launch his alternative-energy business in up-state New York. "It was difficult work for a small business there," he says. "The costs were higher, and there were fewer business opportunities, more regulations. So I came out West, and I haven't looked back."

To a lot of Americans, Texas feels like the future. And I would argue that more than any other state, Texas *looks* like the future as well—offering us a glimpse of what's to come for the country at large in the decades ahead. The U.S. is experiencing ever greater economic inequality and the thinning of its middle class: Texas is already one of our most unequal states. America's safety net is fraying under the weight of ballooning Social Security and Medicare costs; Texas' safety net was built frayed. Americans are seeking a cheaper cost of living and a less regulated climate in which to do business; Texas has those in spades. And did we mention there's no state income tax? (Texas is one of only seven states in the union that lack the levy.)

There's a bumper sticker sometimes seen around the state that proclaims, *I WASN'T BORN IN TEXAS, BUT I GOT HERE AS FAST AS I COULD.* As the U.S. heads



Desert homesteaders Casey Colando, with his wife Sara, runs an alternative-energy business in a remote part of West Texas

toward Texas, literally and metaphorically, it's worth understanding why we're headed there—both to see the pitfalls ahead and to catch a glimpse of the opportunities that await us if we make the journey in an intelligent fashion.

AVERAGE IS OVER

THE FIRST THING TO UNDERSTAND ABOUT our more Texan future is what's happening to the American workforce on the whole: average is over.

More and more workers are leaving the middle class—heeded both up and down—and fewer workers are moving into it. Median household income has fallen about 5% since the Great Recession ended in 2009; in that same period, 58% of job growth was in lower-wage occupations, defined as those paying \$13.83 an hour or less.

However, it's not that incomes are stagnant generally. Earners at the top have done very well—but the gains have been distributed quite unevenly. Last year the top 1% of earners took home 19.3% of household income, their largest share



since 1928. The top 10% of earners didn't do so badly either, taking home a record 48.2% of household income.

We know the forces driving this: globalization, advances in computing, and automation mean that Americans are facing tougher competition than ever before from workers overseas, machines and smart software. The individuals moving up the economic ladder are the ones who've responded to this competition by upgrading their skills and efforts. The ones moving down are largely those who have failed or been unable to respond at all.

The group struggling the most is the young. People with four-year college degrees earn less today than graduates did in 2000, and over time this will translate into persistently lower earnings. And too many young people today, even if they have jobs, have failed to establish themselves on career ladders. If we look at Americans ages 16 to 24 who are not enrolled in school, only 36% are working full time, 10% less than in 2007. A 24-year-old who is working part time for a website, as a Pilates instructor or in retail may be having fun, but he or she probably won't be receiving strong promotions a couple of decades down the line.

Meanwhile, the cost of hanging on to a middle-class lifestyle is increasing. As a 2010 report by the Department of Commerce found, looking at economic data from the past two decades, "The prices for three large components of middle-class expenses have increased faster than income: the cost of college, the cost of health care and the cost of a house."

Texas isn't immune to any of this, of course. But it just may be the friendliest state for those who worry about their prospects in this new normal. For starters, the job scene is markedly better (more on that in a moment). And more crucially,

THEY'RE NOT THE VAGABONDS AND OUTLAWS OF THE 19TH CENTURY. BUT THEY'RE STILL 'GONE TO TEXAS'

it's cheaper to live in Texas and cheaper to thrive there too. Don't underestimate the power of that lower cost of living, for it can be the difference between a trailer and an apartment—between an apartment and a home.

"... AND I WOULD GO TO TEXAS"

AS DAVY CROCKETT SAID IN 1835, AS HIS political fortunes ran out in Tennessee, "They might all go to hell, and I would go to Texas." The phrase *Go to Texas* (sometimes abbreviated GTT) was the expression once used by Americans fleeing to the Lone Star State to escape debt or the law—posted as a sign on a fence or scratched into the door of an abandoned home.

While today's migrants aren't the vagabonds and outlaws of the 19th century, people are still "gone to Texas." Texas is America's fastest growing large state, with three of the top five fastest-growing cities in the country, according to *Forbes*: Austin, Dallas and Houston. In 2012 alone, total migration to Texas from the other 49 states in the union was 106,000, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Since 2000, 1 million more people have moved to Texas from other states than have left.

To get a sense of who these migrants are, consider Tara Connolly. In 2005 the New York City native was sharing a 500-sq.-ft. apartment with her then boyfriend in Cobble Hill, Brooklyn—a gentrified neighborhood where studio apartments rent for about \$2,000 a month and sell for about half a million dollars. Feeling stressed, restless and in need of a change, she read an article about Austin and decided to pack up and move, with little more than the hope of finding a job in her field, graphic design.

Eight years later, Connolly is in her mid-30s and works at a hip marketing company in Austin, and she's the owner of a vintage midcentury home twice the size of her old New York City apartment. It comes with a mortgage payment half the size of her big-city rent. "Buying a house was not something I was thinking about when I came to Austin," Connolly says. "But here you have people in their 20s buying houses."

When Connolly announced that she was moving to Austin, she was met with looks of alarm from her Bronx-born family. But she says that after visiting her and seeing her new home, her family has changed its tune. "They say they can't believe how green it is," she says. "They thought it was all tumbleweed."

Connolly's story is hardly unique. And the general pattern is by no means a new one, according to Bernard Weinstein, an economist and associate director of Southern Methodist University's Maguire Energy Institute. Weinstein has been observing the Texas economy for more than 30 years and says that "whenever the economy is bad in the rest of the country, that pushes people to the Sun Belt." Along with the affordable housing and a warm climate, newcomers are drawn by the notion that in the case of Texas, jobs are plentiful. Texas' unemployment rate is currently 6.4%—high for Texas but below the national rate of 7.3%.

And as Connolly's story shows, these pilgrims aren't coming just from places like Michigan, where a major industry has collapsed, but also from more prosperous states like New York and California. Over the past 20 years, more than 4 million Californians have moved to Texas, according to Weinstein. "That's two cities the size of Houston," he notes.

Jed Kolko, chief economist for San Francisco-based real estate website Trulia, says that from 2005 to 2011, 183 Californians moved to Texas for every 100 Texans who moved to California. "Home prices, more than any other factor, cause people to leave," Kolko says.

Why is California, for instance, so expensive and Texas so cheap? "God wanted California to be expensive," Kolko says, with its ideal climate and attractive but limited real estate squeezed between the mountains and the ocean. The demand for a piece of the California dream was destined to be expensive, and lawmakers passed strict building codes to add to the bottom line.

Texans might argue that they have some beautiful real estate too, but in the wide-open spaces surrounding the state's major urban areas, there is no ocean to constrict growth, and there are far fewer stringent rules. There are no zoning laws in many unincorporated areas beyond the booming urban centers, where Texas has lots of land.

The lower house prices, along with a generally low cost of living—helped along by cheap labor, cheap produce and cheap gas (currently about \$3 a gallon)—really matter when it comes to quality of life. For instance, the federal government calculated the Texas poverty rate as 18.4% for 2010 and that of California as about 16%. That may sound bad for Texas, but once adjustments are made for the different costs of

ON THE MOVE

As middle-class incomes stagnate, Americans are seeking a cheaper cost of living

U.S. Income vs. cost of living
Change in prices, 1990-2008

+20%
FAMILY INCOME

+56%
HOUSING

+60%
FOUR-YEAR COLLEGE

+155%
HEALTH CARE



HOME PRICES

\$300,000
will buy
you ...

SAN FRANCISCO



Apartment
Loft, 1 bath

210
SQ. FT.

BROOKLYN



Apartment
1 bed, 1 bath

492
SQ. FT.

ARLINGTON, VA.



Apartment
1 bed, 1 bath

604
SQ. FT.

living across the two states, as the federal government does in its Supplemental Poverty Measure, Texas' poverty rate drops to 16.5% and California's spikes to a dismal 22.4%. Not surprisingly, it is the lower-income residents who are most likely to leave California.

On the flip side, Texas has a higher per capita income than California, adjusted for cost of living, and nearly catches up with New York by the same measure. Once you factor in state and local taxes, Texas pulls ahead of New York—by a wide margin. The website MoneyRates ranks states on the basis of average income, adjusting for tax rates and cost of living; once those factors are accounted for, Texas has the third highest average income (after Virginia and Washington State), while New York ranks 36th.

THE TEXAS MODEL

OF COURSE, IT'S NOT JUST CHEAP LIVING that draws people to Texas. It's also jobs. In the past 12 months, Texas has added

274,700 new jobs—that's 12% of all jobs added nationwide and 51,000 more than California added. In a Moody's Analytics study, seven of the top 10 cities for projected job growth through 2015 will be in Texas. Four Texas cities topped the list: Austin, McAllen (in the Rio Grande Valley), Houston and Fort Worth. "For the past 22 years, Texas has outgrown the country by a factor of more than 2 to 1," Dallas Federal Reserve president Richard Fisher tells TIME, echoing an April speech in which he laid out the story of Texas growth at some length.

"My uninformed friends usually say, 'But Texas creates low-paying jobs.' To that I respond, You are right. We create more low-paying jobs in Texas than anybody else," Fisher says. "But we also created far more high-paying jobs." In fact, from 2002 to 2011, with 8% of the U.S. population, Texas created nearly one-third of the country's highest-paying jobs.

"Most importantly," Fisher says, "while the United States has seen job destruction



in the two middle-income quartiles, Texas has created jobs for those vital middle-income workers too." From 2001 to 2012, the number of lower-middle-income jobs in Texas grew by 14.4%, and the number of upper-middle-income jobs grew by 24.2%. If you look at the U.S. without Texas over the same period, the number of lower-middle jobs grew by an anemic 0.1%, and the number of upper-middle jobs shrank by 6%.

"The bottom line," says Fisher, is that "we have experienced growth across all sectors and in all income categories ... If you pull Texas out of the puzzle of the United States, the rest of the country falls down!"

How did Texas do it?

Texas Monthly senior editor Erica Grierder credits the "Texas model" in her recent book, *Big, Hot, Cheap, and Right: What America Can Learn From the Strange Genius of Texas*. "The Texas model basically calls for low taxes and low services," she says. "In a sense, it's just a limited-government



approach." *Chief Executive* magazine has named Texas the most growth-friendly state in the nation for nine years in a row. The ranking is based on survey results from its CEO readership, who grade the states on the basis of factors such as taxes and regulation, the quality of the workforce and the living environment. Cheap land, cheap labor and low taxes have all clearly contributed to this business-friendly climate. But that's not the whole story.

"Certainly since 2008, the beginning of the Great Recession, it's been the energy boom," SMU's Weinstein says, pointing to the resource boom's ripple effect throughout the Texas economy. However, he says, the job growth predates the energy boom by a significant margin. "A decade ago, before the shale boom, economic growth in Texas was based on IT development," Weinstein says. "Today most of the job creation, in total numbers, is in business and personal services, from people working in hospitals to lawyers."

Of course, not everyone's a fan of the Texas model. "We are not strong economically because we have low taxes and lax regulation. We are strong economically because of geography and geology," says Scott McCown, a former executive director of the Center for Public Policy Priorities who is now a law professor at the University of Texas. "We've built an economy favoring the wealthy ... If that's the ultimate end result of the Texas model in a democratic society, it will be rejected."

So will the rest of the country follow Texas's lead? People are already voting with their feet. The places in the U.S. seeing significant in-migration are largely in relatively inexpensive parts of the Sun Belt. These are, by and large, affordable states with decent records of job creation—often with subpar public services and low taxes. Texas is just the most striking example. But Oklahoma, Colorado, the Carolinas and other parts of the South are benefiting from the same trends—namely that California, New York and the other high-tax, high-cost states are no longer such good deals for much of the U.S.'s middle and lower-middle classes.

The Americans heading to Texas and other cheap-living states are a bit like the mythical cowboys of our past—self-reliant, for better or worse.

THE NEW COWBOYS

FOR AMERICANS HEADING TO THESE PLACES, the likelihood is that they'll be facing slow-growing, stagnant or even falling wages. Yet it won't be the dystopia that it may sound like at first. Automation and globalization don't just make a lot of goods and services much cheaper—they sometimes make them free. There is already plenty of free online education, graded by computer bots, and free music on YouTube. Hulu and related online viewing services are allowing Americans to free up some money by cutting the cable cord. Facebook soaks up a lot of our free time, and it doesn't cost a dime. The near future likely will bring free or very cheap online medical diagnosis.

This suggests that wages and GDP statistics may no longer be the most accurate gauges of real living standards. A new class of Americans will become far more numerous. They will despair at finding good middle-class jobs and decide to live off salaries that are roughly comparable to today's lower-middle-class incomes.



Big D icon A new bridge connects downtown and West Dallas



Hot town Manor, just east of Austin, is luring new residents

Some will give up trying so hard—but it won't matter as much as it used to, because they won't have to be big successes to live relatively well.

"The world of work is changing, and what we are learning is it's no longer about the 9-to-5, it's about the work itself," says Gary Swart, CEO of oDesk, a global job marketplace that sells tools to allow businesses to hire and manage remote workers. "Millennials, they are about how to make an impact ... They want freedom in their lives, and they care more about that than they do the financial rewards."

For an example of one of these "new cowboys," take Joe Swec. For most of his life, Swec, 32, has lived in beautiful (and, he notes, expensive) places. Born in the San Francisco Bay Area, he graduated from California Polytechnic State University with a degree in structural engineering and went to work in Healdsburg, working on the construction and restoration of several Sonoma County wineries. Then he headed south to work in Malibu. But he was not content.

"I wanted a career change," he says. "I wanted to do something more creative, and I would fantasize about being an artist."

So five years ago, Swec moved to Austin. "My friends thought I was crazy—why would I move to Texas?" he says. "They also wondered why I would leave a six-figure job. I saw it differently. I wanted my job to give me a happy life."

After moving, Swec first worked as a

bartender, then as a waiter. Then he got a job doing silk screens for a design company. Inspiration came along when he came across papers his grandfather had collected—scrapbooks filled with calligraphy and hand lettering. He found he had an affinity for the art of lettering, and as he worked on an outdoor mural, he wondered why he didn't do this for a living. So he took up a career as a sign painter.

His hand-lettered signs now appear on the walls and doorways of some of Austin's newest, liveliest restaurants and pubs. "My friends out in California don't understand why I like it here," Swec says. "But I have just developed a fondness for the local way of life."

In the coming decades, some people may even go to extremes in low-cost living, like making their home in micro-houses (of, say, about 400 sq. ft. and costing \$20,000 to \$40,000) or going

off the grid entirely. Brad Kittel, owner of Tiny Texas Houses, blogs about his small homes built from salvaged materials at tinytexashouses.com. His business, based in the small rural community of Luling, east of San Antonio, offers custom homes, plans, and lessons on how to be a salvage miner. So far he has built about 75 tiny homes, and he has plans for a tiny-home community built around a sort of central lodge house. Kittel, 57, is a former Austin developer who pioneered the gentrification of a crumbling East Austin neighborhood in the late 1980s. These days most of his buyers are baby boomers. "Downsizing was just a whisper. Now it's turning into a mantra," Kittel says. "My generation, we were accumulators—big houses, big cars. But now we have no big resources."

The micro-home trend is being watched by traditional homebuilders as well. Texas-based developer D.R. Horton, a member of the New York Stock Exchange and one of the largest homebuilders in the country, built 29 micro-homes sized from 364 to 687 sq. ft. in Portland, Ore., last year for an average price of \$120,000 to \$180,000—admittedly far from the company's headquarters in spacious Fort Worth.

In some ways, the new settlements of a Texas-like America could come to resemble trailer parks—culturally rich trailer parks, so to speak. The next Brooklyn may end up somewhere in the Dakotas, Fargo, anyone?

Nonetheless, America, a historically

**WILL THE REST OF
THE COUNTRY FOLLOW
TEXAS' LEAD? PEOPLE
ARE ALREADY VOTING
WITH THEIR FEET**



The price is right Manufactured homes on display in Austin



On the prairie's edge A new apartment complex in North Dallas

flexible nation in cultural and economic terms, will adjust. One of our saving graces may end up being just how wasteful we've been in the past. It will be possible for many consumers to cut back significantly on spending without losing too much in terms of material well-being and happiness.

The new frugality born of the Great Recession is unlikely to give way to the old conspicuous consumption anytime soon, if consumer studies are to be believed. Nick Hodson, a partner and member of the consumer and retail practice at BCG, points to his company's 2012 study of 2,000 grocery shoppers across the country. The study found that "value-seeking behavior" was here to stay.

"The recession caused about 20 to 30% more shoppers to adopt these behaviors as they adjusted to strained personal circumstances or simply followed a set of perceived 'acceptable' frugal behaviors," the study concluded. "Today, 75 to 90% of consumers are exhibiting these frugal shopping behaviors. What's important is that a majority—perhaps two-thirds—of the newly frugal shoppers report that they will not revert to their previous behaviors as the recession ends."

THE TRAIL AHEAD

THERE ARE, OF COURSE, MAJOR DOWNSIDES to the future I'm describing here. A lot of health care will become more expensive and harder to access. Many Americans will have to downsize their living quar-

ters involuntarily. People in the shrinking middle class who want to have more than one child may find the costs too high. There is no longer the expectation, much less the guarantee, that living standards double or even increase much with each generation.

But it's not all bad news—especially if we take the right steps to prepare. The flood of Americans moving to Texas shows us where we need to focus our attention; what these migrants have found in Texas shows us ways many of our cities and states can improve.

Most critically, across the country, our K-12 education system needs to be much more rigorous, so that more Americans will be prepared to succeed in the new high-tech era to come. Right now, labor markets and jobs are changing faster than schools, and that means graduates are being left behind. Education at all levels needs to be cheaper and easier to access—and family support for students needs to be much stronger as well.

There are also many small but important ways in which states and cities can adjust in order to incorporate some of the lessons Texas has to teach.

For instance, states could deregulate building so that rents and home prices could be much lower. Housing is one of the biggest costs in most people's budgets, and it will be difficult to bring those costs down without greater competition and significantly higher urban density. In other words: San Francisco needs

to become more like Houston when it comes to zoning.

Likewise, it would be a tremendous boon for low-skilled workers if we scaled back much of the occupational licensing that exists at the state and local levels. There's no reason a worker should need legal permission to become, say, a barber or a cosmetologist, as is currently the case in many states. Is there any good reason that Nevada, Louisiana, Florida and the District of Columbia should require interior designers to take 2,190 hours of training and pass an exam before having the legal right to practice? By relaxing these and many other requirements, we could create a lot more decent jobs and lower prices for consumers at the same time.

A little more freedom in strategically targeted areas—that is, a little more Texas—could go a long way.

Don't be scared. As Tara Connolly found, Texas is a welcoming place: "Everyone is just so friendly, and they look you in the eye." And she wouldn't even think of going back to New York City. "The constant stress doesn't seem appealing," she says. "The cost was insane, and it was time to start fresh. This was a good place to try." —REPORTED BY HILARY HYLTON/AUSTIN

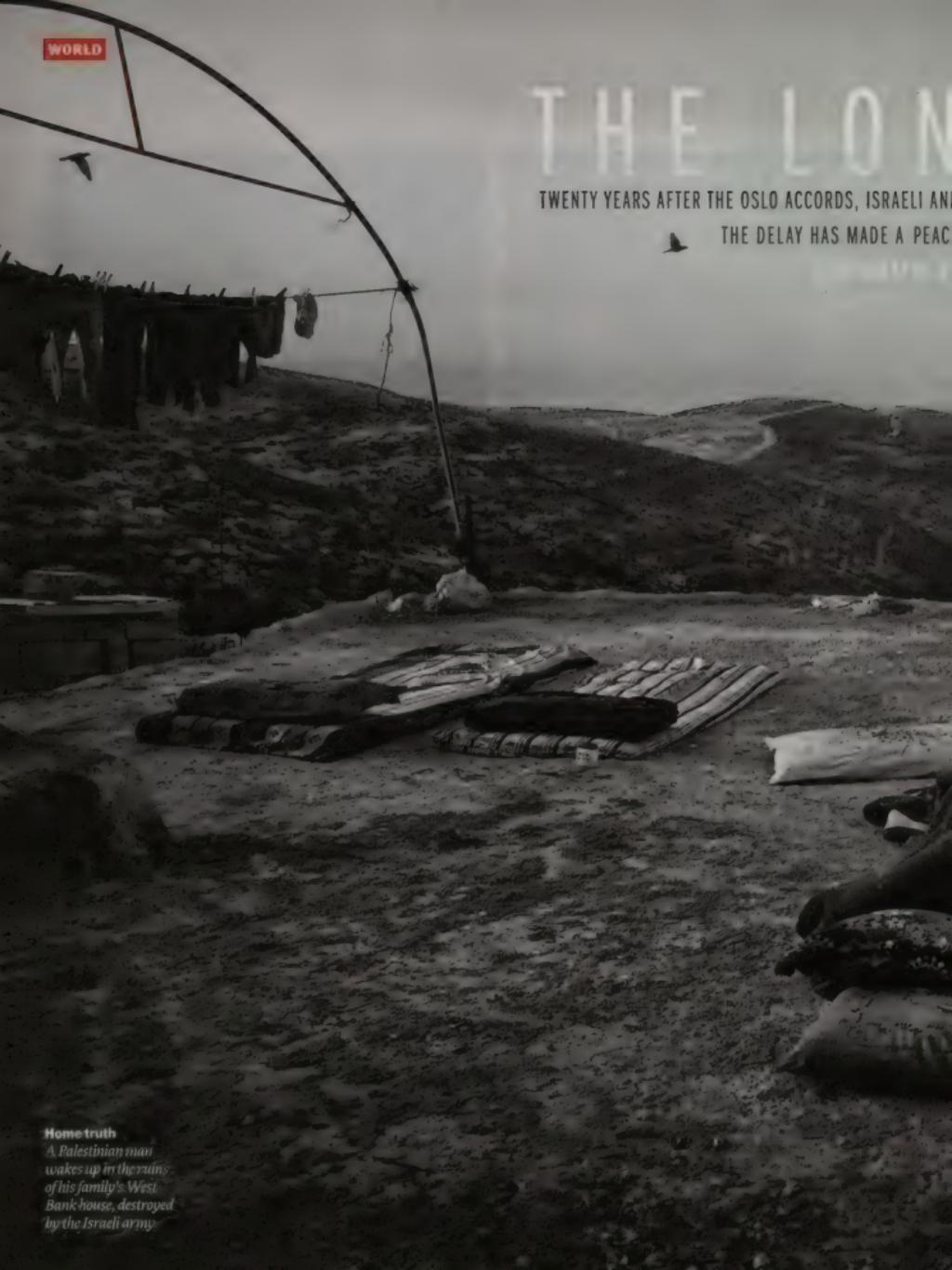
Cowen is a professor of economics at George Mason University. He is the author of *Average Is Over: Powering America Beyond the Age of the Great Stagnation* (Dutton, 2013).

WORLD

THE LONG

TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE OSLO ACCORDS, ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN LEADERS ARE TRYING TO REACH A PEACE AGREEMENT

THE DELAY HAS MADE A PEACE AGREEMENT ALL THE MORE DESIRABLE



Home truth

A Palestinian man wakes up in the ruins of his family's West Bank house, destroyed by the Israeli army

G WAIT

PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATORS ARE TALKING AGAIN.
THE PEACE DEAL ONLY MORE ELUSIVE





War weary
Israeli soldiers with the elite Givati Brigade rest at a graffiti-covered bus stop while patrolling settlements in Hebron on June 12

Common ground
Jews worship at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron, right. Muslims call the site the Sanctuary of Abraham and also consider it sacred



TWO DECADES AGO, THE WORD *Oslo* evoked everything the Middle East normally refuses to provide: hope, trust and compromise. Israelis and Palestinians, two peoples claiming the same biblical lands, had rarely talked peace with each other before in a serious way. Then, in the space of four months, their leaders secretly agreed on a set of plans—the Oslo accords—that promised an end, once and for all, to the violent conflict between them. The diplomatic achievement was sealed on the White House lawn on Sept. 13, 1993, with a signing ceremony and a handshake between Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

The reality came home nine months later, in July 1994, when Palestinian guerrillas led by Arafat ended 27 years of exile by rolling into the Gaza Strip escorted by Israeli soldiers. "From the moment we entered Gaza, it looked like, my God, really peace has come," says Nabil Shaath, one of Arafat's lieutenants. "We were doing things fast."

The momentum ended on Nov. 4, 1995, when a radical right-wing Jewish settler shot Rabin dead at a peace rally in Tel Aviv. In that moment, many historians have argued, the Oslo accords suffered a fatal blow. Without Rabin

to reassure a nervous Israel that Oslo was a genuine path to peace, extremists quickly began to drive events on both sides. Violence erupted in 2000, and Israel's peace camp was destroyed in the face of the ensuing wave of Palestinian suicide bombings. The center of Israeli politics shifted firmly to the right. The Islamist extremists of Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip. A physical barrier now keeps Palestinians who live in the West Bank out of Israel. Arafat died in 2004.

The Oslo process lived on, but the political stasis and physical facts on the ground confirm U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's



diagnosis that the agreement is on life support. Two decades after the White House signing, Palestinians have less income, less land and much less freedom than they did in 1993. The 1.7 million residents of Gaza are not permitted to travel beyond that narrow strip of land. Israeli policies in the West Bank and East Jerusalem have doubled the number of Jewish settlers living there since 1993. As Cédric Gerbey's photographs of Palestinians and Israelis living in the West Bank show, this is a land whose people are always on edge and often at blows.

With terrorist attacks in Israel a rarity, however,

many Israelis see nothing to be gained from further negotiations with the Palestinians. "Israelis enjoy the status quo. There is no pressure, so why change anything?" says Menachem Klein, a left-leaning Israeli political scientist from Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan. But another round of U.S.-sponsored talks is nevertheless under way, with expectations that could hardly be lower on both sides. The goal is a final agreement that takes on the difficult issues—including the questions of who has sovereignty over East Jerusalem and how to address the demands of Palestinian refugees to return to homes in the West Bank or

what is now Israel—that Oslo deliberately avoided.

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, who has brought the sides together for these talks, observes that the broad outlines of a deal have been apparent for years—including land swaps, international supervision of Jerusalem's holy sites and compensation to refugees. But skeptics argue that the inability of the Israelis and Palestinians to come to final terms shows how reluctant both are to make the most difficult concessions. Twenty years on, hope, trust and compromise are no longer much in evidence.

—KARL VICK/RAMALLAH

Victim's face
A Palestinian boy bears scars from a Molotov cocktail thrown by settlers in Nahalin

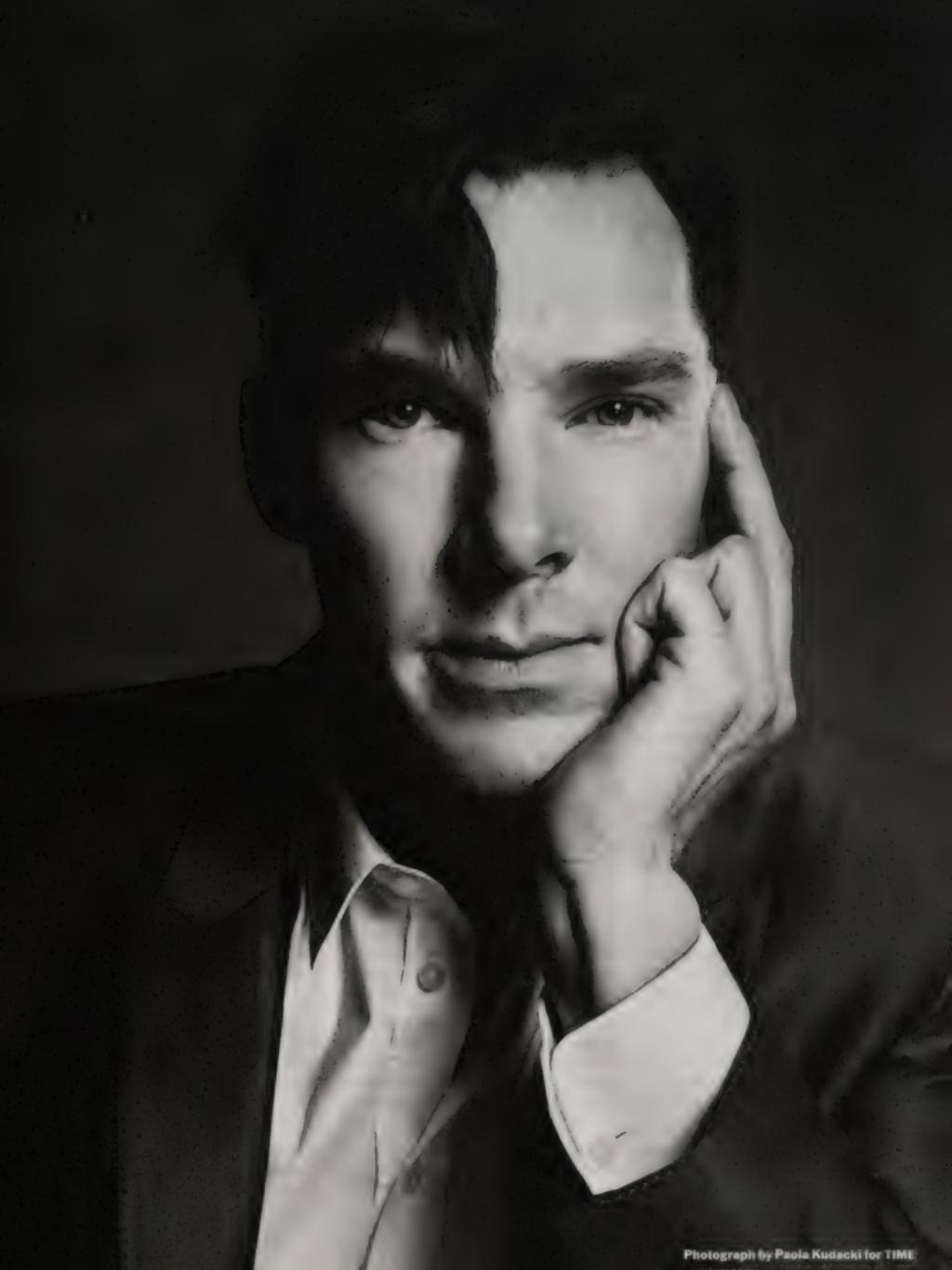
PROFILE

>BENEDICT CUMBERBATCH HAS
MASTERED PLAYING
THE TARNISHED GENIUS

<SECRETS, LEAKS AND SHERLOCK>

IN JULIAN ASSANGE AND THE FIFTH
ESTATE HE'S FOUND
HIS MOST CHALLENGING MUSE ■

>BY JESSE DORRIS



Photograph by Paola Kudacki for TIME

'I WAS FRIGHTENED,' BENEDICT CUMBERBATCH SAYS IN A SOFT, THOUGHTFUL VOICE

over lunch on a rainy afternoon in New York City. He's not talking about the terrible act of violence he survived on a trip to South Africa a few years ago. Nor the daunting prospect of playing some of the world's most recognizable figures: Stephen Hawking, in a 2004 BBC movie that served as one of his early breaks, or notorious WikiLeaks Julian Assange in Bill Condon's *The Fifth Estate*, opening Oct. 18.

He's talking about privacy. "I was worried about being exposed," he says. It began in 2010, when his reinvention of Sherlock Holmes besotted legions of his countrymen—and, famously, the groups of countrywomen who called themselves "Cumberbitches" until he told *INSTYLE* U.K. that he was concerned "about what it says for feminism ... Cumberbabes might be better." When *Sherlock*'s second season premiered on PBS, its ratings beat recent numbers of cult favorites like *Mad Men*, with Cumberbatch as its cerebral pinup. "Stepping into the populist limelight," he says, "has been quite crazy."

Sometimes an actor captures a cultural moment in a film. Glenn Close in *Fatal Attraction*, for example, embodied the fever dreams of the feminist backlash in a single sociopath, a woman whose sexual power threatened to destroy all it touched. And sometimes an actor's body of work provides a kind of historical shorthand: Dennis Hopper's shift from *Easy Rider*'s wide-eyed radical to the shell-shocked journalist in *Apocalypse Now* to the suburban, Reagan-era rot of *Blue Velvet* captures almost 20 years in under seven hours.

In a single year's clutch of performances, Cumberbatch has channeled half a dozen shades of zeitgeist. Here's 2013 for the 37-year-old British actor: In a world where the difference between a freedom fighter and a terrorist can change hour to hour, he portrayed the enigmatic villain Khan in *Star Trek Into Darkness*, a popcorn-with-

politics sequel to J.J. Abrams' franchise refurbishment. As battles over health care shut down the U.S. government, he'll appear with Meryl Streep and Julia Roberts in the all-star ensemble *August: Osage County*, in which cancer burns a path of ruin through an extended heartland family. We hardly need another movie to show how the ghosts of slavery haunt the U.S., but Cumberbatch's poignant turn as a soft-hearted slave owner in Steve McQueen's *12 Years a Slave*, with Chiwetel Ejiofor as a freeman sold into slavery, emphasizes once again how racism wounds everyone it touches. And there's his chameleonic, bravura performance as Assange in *The Fifth Estate*, which was almost kiboshed by Assange himself and is a test case for the tension between privacy and technology that's unfolding in real time.

Cumberbatch is seizing his moment. He responded to an e-mail Assange released as a critique of the film with his own thoughtful discourse on what journalism and democracy should be—and not just in the press but in e-mails to Assange. That began a feedback loop culminating in Assange's claim on ABC's *This Week* with George Stephanopoulos that Cumberbatch "tried to ameliorate some of the worst elements of the script but unfortunately with limited success, though I'm pleased he tried." Assange went on to blast the project as "a big cashing-in" by "a rich organization ... that's intending to make a lot of money from this process." (The film was co-produced by DreamWorks, which has a distribution deal with Disney.) Cumberbatch has, so far, let that be the last word.

On a lighter note, Cumberbatch basically broke the Internet one recent afternoon by offering new ideas for erotic fan fiction on a Reddit AMA (an online "ask me anything" session). When asked if he ever has "cheekbone-polishing parties" with fellow Brit and *Doctor Who* lead Matt



Smith and *Thor*'s Loki, Tom Hiddleston, Cumberbatch wrote, "We like nothing better than buffing our Zygomata. And imagining a horny time traveling long overcoat purple scarf wearing super-sleuth nordic legend f--- fantasy. Get to work on that, internet." It surely did.

Despite those vertiginous cheekbones and his utterly distinctive face, Cumberbatch is fully able to transform on film. As the warrior Khan he's a ferocious, furrowed mix of calculation and pure id. In a climactic speech, swells of rage and disgust look ready to burst through his forehead. His *Sherlock*, on the other hand, sometimes appears as little more than two eyes and two hands while he commands a restricted palette of gestures that conveys more inner life than most actors' entire bodies. *Sherlock*'s trick of "speaking at the speed of thought," as Cumberbatch describes it, seems to come naturally to the actor, as does his propensity for close observation. "A kind of frightening thing happened," says Cumberbatch's *Fifth Estate*



>THE FIFTH ESTATE: OPENS OCT. 18

Cumberbatch's Assange is a mix of ticks and grandeur, a creature apart and above.

co-star Daniel Brühl, who plays Daniel Domscheit-Berg, WikiLeaks' former spokesman under the nom de Web Daniel Schmitt and the author of one of the books that were adapted for the movie's screenplay. "The first time I met him in London for rehearsal, he took one look at me and told me what I had had for breakfast," Brühl laughs. "I said, 'Hi, Sherlock, nice to meet you.' And he said, 'Sorry, sorry, I just can't let go of that part.'"

As Smaug in Peter Jackson's forthcoming *Hobbit* films, Cumberbatch's body will be absent completely, replaced by cutting-edge CGI. "I've got to be a however-many-hundreds-of-years-old, fire-breathing, dwelling-under-a-mountain creature of destruction and doom. That can fly. And that is about the size of the Empire State Building," he says with amazement.

Tolkien's work was a formative influence on him. "Growing up," he says, "my dad read it to me, and it was a real treat, a feast for a child's imagination. He did an amazing Smaug and hobbits and Gandalf as well—it's the audiobook that will never exist. If I was good that night, I'd get to hear two chapters."

There's a touch of playfulness in Cumberbatch's dashing Peter Guilliam, in 2011's *Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy*. With his handsome suits and leonine highlights, Guilliam was all youth and flash in the drab world of Cold War espionage. But Guilliam's glamour was "a hollow symbol," Cumberbatch says. "He's covering up the fact that he's a gay man in a very heterosexual world, and he has to compromise any idea of domestic security to protect his own back." Cumberbatch fast-forwards to his newest character. "I guess," he says, "Julian ended up doing the same thing. He's literally living in a converted bathroom next to an embassy behind Harrods. I don't know what will happen if more revelations come

out that finger him or somehow embroil him in something where he can't exist as a refugee any longer."

LAW AND ORDER

IN 1976, LONDON WAS A CITY ROILED BY Irish Republican Army bombings, major trade-union strikes, punks hawking up their first rebellious emissions and a long, hot summer. That July, Cumberbatch was born to two actor parents, Timothy Carlton and Wanda Ventham. (His father had dropped the mouthful of a surname.) "As actors, they had this peripatetic, slightly out-of-control lifestyle, uncertain of future careers," he recalls. He has a half-sister from his mother's previous marriage: "She's adorable. She kind of babysat me when I was growing up."

His parents were set on his finding a different livelihood. "They afforded my education by taking every job that was coming—an education for getting me opportunities to do anything but be an actor," he says. He first considered becoming a barrister. "It was very romantic, the notion of setting up in court like Rumpole of the Bailey." The closer he got to donning the wig and robes, though, the more ambivalent he became. Life as a lawyer was hardly secure. "The reality was being equally over-subscribed, equally as good as your last job, equally as unrewarding and hardworking and peripatetic." He "kissed that life goodbye," he says, at 17. He spent England's traditional gap year before university teaching English in a Tibetan monastery, then studied drama at the University of Manchester before earning an M.A. at the prestigious London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art (alma mater to Jim Broadbent and Chris O'Dowd, among others).

He landed roles in BBC miniseries and on London stages; by 2005 he'd earned a Laurence Olivier Award nomination for Best Supporting Actor as the emotionally stunted academic Jorgen Tesman in Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler*. Cumberbatch won the Olivier seven years later for playing both Frankenstein and his monster in Danny Boyle's 2011 production for the Royal National Theatre. His father was starring in a revival of *Cause Célèbre* at the nearby Old Vic that season. "[My father and I] would sort of meet at bars on the South Bank afterwards," Cumberbatch recalls. "I love the fact that I make [my parents] proud. And because they're actors, they get it, which is wonderful."

When *Sherlock* came along in 2010, his mother understood the strange balance of

respect and irreverence it takes to keep a television icon fresh: she'd spent 20 years as various characters on the BBC's legendary *Doctor Who*.

"I knew I was in very safe hands with the creators, Mark Gatiss and Steven Moffat," Cumberbatch says. Their update of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's detective series—which replaces Victorian Gothicism with millennial dread, Holmes' icy yet almost demure decadence with a quasi-autistic, nicotine-addled quirk and Watson's gentlemanly idolatry with a mutually acknowledged, winking, anxious homoeroticism—won a devoted following on both sides of the Atlantic and earned Cumberbatch an Emmy nomination in 2012. The show returns for a third season this winter.

war, and the results of that war were made very, very plain by those leaked war logs."

The Fifth Estate does an admirable job demonstrating the pressure Assange was under while preparing the leak of almost 400,000 classified U.S. military records from the Iraq War. The most extensive intelligence disclosure in American history required balancing the safety of sources with Assange's devotion to transparency (a notion that becomes both his *raison d'être* and *bête noire* by film's end) as well as the commercial and journalistic requirements of the *New York Times*, the *Guardian* and *Der Spiegel*.

"I first became aware of the WikiLeaks story through the fact that the news had pushed the war to the 16th page, and this put it right back on the front page again,"

e-mail to Assange, Cumberbatch says, he wrote that he hoped the film would largely sidestep the more lurid details of Assange's life in favor of engaging with the philosophical and political ramifications of WikiLeaks. And it largely has: though Condon indulges in a panoply of aesthetic bells and whistles, *The Fifth Estate* clearly holds those who risk their safety for more-transparent governance in great esteem.

A WHALE OF A LESSON

CUMBERBATCH HIMSELF IS NO STRANGER to life-threatening situations. In 2005, while filming the miniseries *To the End of the Earth* in South Africa, he and two friends drove to the coast to learn scuba diving. On the drive back, a tire went flat.

"I got out to fix it," Cumberbatch says

>BENEDICT RISING THE ROLES THAT MADE HIM FAMOUS



>**HAWKING:** 2004 Cumberbatch earned raves as a young Stephen Hawking in this BBC drama



>**SHERLOCK:** 2010 His irreverent update of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's detective sparked a new wave of Holmes fanatics



>**TINKER TAILOR SOLDIER SPY:** 2011 His Peter Gulliam is an enigmatic spy who keeps his own secrets from his colleagues

PLAYING ASSANGE

CUMBERBATCH'S STARTLINGLY ACCURATE Assange, a blend of bombast and beguilement, is no cat-stroking international man of demystification but a characterization that's far more complex. Even Assange acknowledged Cumberbatch's good intentions in his e-mail heard round the world. "I have examined your previous work, which I am fond of," he wrote. But in the end, Assange said, "your skills play into the hands of people who are out to remove me and WikiLeaks from the world."

Cumberbatch has put a lot of thought into the charge. "I've never been an activist," he says, "but I've always been politically aware. I protested against budget cuts and cuts to education. I marched against the Iraq War. All that protesting was just swept aside to pave the way for an illegal

Cumberbatch says. "All our worst fears about the realities of the mess were confirmed. The rule of law is being overrun so fast, eroding our civil liberties in a way that fundamentalists could possibly cherish. Yet there is a very real threat, for the other liberty that we could have taken away is our life, at any point, through the act of terrorism. I think intelligence services have really struggled post-Iraq with credibility, and I feel for them to a certain degree. They are trying to protect our right to exist."

Cumberbatch believes *The Fifth Estate* honors what Assange created. "The idea that people could not fear retribution for anonymously whistle-blowing on malpractice? That's an incredibly potent, powerful new democratic tool."

As for Assange, the film all but ignores the sexual-assault charges he faces. In an

now, "and these guys surrounded us. Just before the tire blew, we'd been listening to Radiohead, that song 'How to Disappear Completely.'" Cumberbatch sings a line from the song, softly: "I'm not here. This isn't happening." The men looted the car, then took him and his friends hostage. "I was bouncing on the knee of the front passenger, with my back against the windscreen, and my thumb hit the radio. That song came on. It was absurd."

The kidnappers drove the car off the side of the road, under an overpass. They tied Cumberbatch up and threw him in the trunk. After what felt like hours, they extracted him and tied him to his friends. "I felt that big, cold barrel of a gun on the back of my neck," he says. "I was in the execution position." He'd recently seen photos of beheadings in Iraq, "and that was very

much the image in my mind as I bent my hands behind my back, tied up with my shoelaces with my feet behind me, on my knees with a gun to my head."

The shot never came. The power of persuasion that serves him so well as an actor worked on his kidnappers, who released them. They found their way to freedom, unscathed but shaken. He worried he might just "shriveled up into a shell and not want to be part of the world." Instead he woke up the next morning, had a beer and a cigarette, and says he thought, "I want to be part of this. I want to go out and swim and run through the sand dunes and into that landscape. It was a small event in a big country." Later he went to Mozambique and finished a scuba course. "My first underwater dive, I saw a sperm whale and

DIY paparazzi of Internet fans as well: dozens of Tumblrrs are devoted to his life, with awkwardly punny names like Cumberbum and A Cumberbatch of Cookies. When he repeats how his success is "an embarrassment of riches," he puts equal emphasis on both sides of the phrase.

Cumberbatch says he admires the way *August: Osage County* producer George Clooney has managed celebrity: "He's a wonderful man to be around. He just wears his fame and who he is as a public persona, and it doesn't seem to cost him, you know?"

August was filmed in rural Oklahoma, where Cumberbatch assumed he'd go unnoticed. Even there, though, the master sleuth's reputation preceded him. "I thought, Oh, I won't get recognized here," he says, laughing. "But the first café I

You get the sense that as articulate as Cumberbatch is, that kind of abandon is a rarity. He likens a successful performance not to a moment of losing himself, the flow that his fellow Buddhists often talk about, but in more athletic terms, as if it takes a bit of physical exertion to get there. "It's rather like a sportsman," he says, "where you hit a sweet spot and think, Oh, that felt good. You don't necessarily know why it is. It's pretty fleeting, and I guess that's how it should be, because the minute you try to hold on to it, it's too precious, and you start to try to reinvigorate the ghost of what you've done rather than keep evolving it."

Few actors are evolving faster, or more intelligently, than Cumberbatch. So far he has resisted a rom-com cash-in or action-hero self-mythologizing, though he's

>BENEDICT NOW THIS YEAR'S OTHER BIG ROLES



>**STAR TREK INTO DARKNESS: 2013**
Cumberbatch's beguiling Khan recharged the space supervillain



>**12 YEARS A SLAVE: OPENS OCT. 18**
He's touchingly weak as a decent man without the strength to buck the system



>**AUGUST: OSAGE COUNTY: OPENS DEC. 25** He plays a sweet guy ground down by life, in his most affecting role this year

its calf, 10 meters away from me. The pilot of the boat said, 'You lucky f---er, I've been doing this for 10 years and I've never seen one so close. And on your first dive? F---you!' And I just laughed and thought, You know, I did go through a bit to get here!"

He's learned how to keep things hidden. "With *Star Trek*, with *Sherlock*, God knows there are other projects as well ... I can't at all talk about them," he says. "It's ridiculous. I kind of feel like I'm carrying around all these secrets." For a man under the bright glare of celebrity, Cumberbatch keeps much of his private life in the dark. "Every time I'm seen at a bar with a girl, I get photographed," he says with a sigh. "Anyone who has a computer knows my entire dating history. I get it. Paparazzi is an inescapable, immovable obstacle."

He's become the object of the kind of

walked into, the waitresses were like"— and here he approximates a gum-chewing Midwestern accent with affection—"Oh my God! Aren't you on television? Don't you play Sherlock Holmes?" It's amazing that spread of that thing, it's incredible."

He had better luck going incognito in New Orleans, where he filmed *12 Years a Slave*. "All that darkness, just outside the city border, [the remains of] steamboats and slave markets, and just extraordinary shops and extraordinary stories—everyone has a passion, and it's all kind of on display. I have the radio station WWOZ on my phone."

Beyond jazz, he is a fan of soundtracky postrockers Sigur Rós and just saw Nile Rodgers' Chic in London. "To have that many people in a disco mood, everyone dancing and smiling without shame in your moves, is the best kind of high," he says.

scheduled to play the great hero of inaction, Hamlet, on the London stage next spring. His next big film project is 2014's *The Imitation Game*, in which he portrays the groundbreaking father of computer science, Alan Turing, who was chemically castrated in 1952 for being gay and whose work, like that of the modern Sherlock and Assange, takes place at the intersection of communication, technology and humanity.

Cumberbatch's zeal for unraveling these knotty sorts of men is unmistakable. "Coming back to Julian for a second," he says, "he's a man who, excuse his message of transparency, wants to keep as much of himself together as possible." The same could be said for the man who plays him, but the resemblance ends there. "As far as typecasting," Cumberbatch says, "I think I'm clear of that."



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Track your performance and progress over time.

Compare your BPI against millions of users around the world.

lumosity

The Culture

50 POP CHART Picasso on the cheap / **52 AMUSEMENT**

How to haunt a house / **55 STYLE** A quick sketch of tattoos

56 BOOKS The new wine countries



The evolution of the
Halloween season
"haunted house"
customers keep getting
harder to scare
PAGE 52

Pop Chart



GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

Chinese movie fans
Chinese Film Bureau decides not to ban *Gravity*; it will open there in November

Madonna
Pop star is barred from Alamo Drafthouse theaters after texting during a recent film screening



TREATS

A Sticky Situation

Starbucks cashed in on the cronut craze with the duffin, a doughnut-muffin hybrid. But a London bakery chain claims it invented the portmanteau pastry in 2011. The coffee giant's supplier trademarked the name, which means that, barring a taste test, the score is settled.

The 40-ft. screen at this drive-in installation is made from salvaged wood.



CAR CULTURE You can catch a movie at the Empire Drive-In in Corona, N.Y., open through Oct. 20, but that's not all. This retro-looking outdoor cinema, located at the New York Hall of Science, is actually an art installation by Todd Chandler and Jeff Stark. The piece, designed to make attendees question their nostalgia, is populated by 60 cars and trucks that were rescued from a junkyard—many of them filled with their own junk, left behind by previous owners—and are meant to be explored. (And don't worry, this drive-in may be thought-provoking art, but it still has a concession stand.)

NUMBER

\$135

Price of a family ticket now in *Mad Max: Fury Road*—4 rings Picasso worth an estimated \$1 million. Proceeds from the Dec. 18 sale will benefit preservation efforts for the ancient Lebanese city of Tyre.



JUST SING

Box-Office Blues

Lady Gaga's film debut in *Machete Kills*, an action-flick sequel from director Robert Rodriguez, hardly made a slice at the box office, taking in a mere \$3.8 million and sitting at fourth place in its opening weekend. But the pop star with the best poker face is hardly the only one to have a bad romance at the movies. Here are some other opening-weekend takes by recording-industry stars that were the public's way of saying, "Don't quit your day job."

\$783,420

JA RULE
Turn It Up, 2000



\$809,585

ASHLEE SIMPSON
Undiscovered, 2005

\$1,096,620

VANILLA ICE
Cool as Ice, 1991

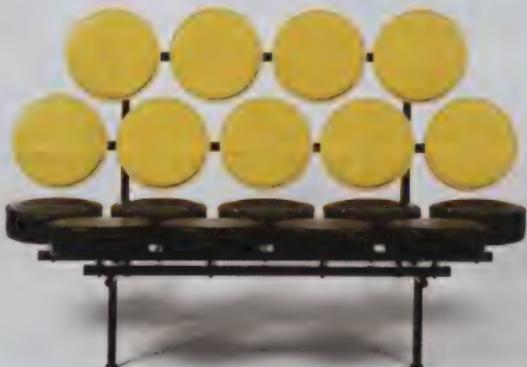


\$1,811,868
CYNDI LAUPER
Vibes, 1988

GRAVITY: WARNER BROS.; EMPIRE DRIVE-IN: TODD CHANDLER; MARYMALLOW: SOFA, 1984; JAY-Z: HARPER-GEORGE/NELSON ASSOCIATES; COLLECTION: VITRA DESIGN MUSEUM; GHOSTS: BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR MAX SPENCER; JERED HARRIS: GETTY IMAGES; BON JOVI: VANILLA ICE (AP/WIDEWORLD); CYNDI LAUPER: JEFFREY KATZ/RETNA; LADY GAGA: ROBERT MADDISON/GETTY IMAGES (LO); MAX W/ SPENCER; 1984: PABLO RIBESCO—SUCCESSION: PICASSO 2013: DUFFIN; DEM BRATHWAITE; MADONNA: GREGG DEGUPO/GETTY IMAGES

THE HOT SEAT

Fine art and furniture might seem unrelated, but the two-way conversation between Pop art and household goods proves otherwise. "Pop Art Design" at the Barbican Art Gallery in London (opening Oct. 22) puts that creative exchange in context, with pieces like this *dawn-of-the-Pop*-era Marshmallow sofa, produced in 1956 by Irving Harper, a designer with the mid-century modern studio George Nelson Associates.



WACKY WEB

Spooky Suitors

Do you believe in love after life? That isn't how Cher sings it, but it's probably how dating website GhostSingles.com would. The (spooky) site purports to troll the next world to find your hauntingly perfect match. But like the spooks at a haunted house, the site's a mirage. To join, you have to be a ghost.

QUICK TALK
Octavia Spencer

The Oscar winner lets loose as a Las Vegas lounge singer in *Paradise* (Oct. 18), the first movie directed by *Juno* screenwriter Diablo Cody. "She was hip, edgy, closer to my own age, not this person with responsibilities in the same way that most of the characters I play are," Spencer, 43, says of her part. Here, she talks to TIME.

—LILY ROTHMAN

You went to Las Vegas for work reasons while filming, but are you a Vegas person when it's just for fun? I can only do Vegas for 24 hours. **What's your perfect 24 hours in Vegas?** I enjoy playing card games. You go for 24 hours, you hang out with your friends, you commandeer a blackjack table, and you just sit around and relax and be loud and obnoxious. **No sleeping?** No, not for me! Actually, not for any of us. **How's your luck?** I'm very



good, but I think everybody is lucky. It's just when you walk away. There's always a period where you're winning. If you leave when you're winning, you're always a winner. **Was there any gambling during the shoot, on your off time?** I did a little bit. But what happened in Vegas... **Do you have any lucky charms?** I believe in the four-leaf clover. I found one once and I pressed it in a book, and then of course one of the little leaves fell off and it was just a regular three-leaf. **Oh no!** But I did find one! **Your first book, about a girl who's a ninja detective, came out Oct. 15.** The idea has been gestating for a while, for the ninja detective. **How was that not already a thing?** Wouldn't you think? The other thing is, I thought I would put fun things for kids to learn how to do in the back, like to learn how to collect a fingerprint, so I worked with a real criminologist. **That could be a book too, actress by day ...** I can collect fingerprints. I can make a cast of a footprint. It's what I do in my spare time.

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. Miley having nostalgia for her tween years.

The singer scribbled her name from all *Hannah Montana* songs on iTunes.

2. A smooth road for the *Fifty Shades* team.

Charlie Hunnam, cast as leading man Christian Grey, dropped out of the project.

3. Rebecca Black keeping her *Worst Song Ever* title.

The producer behind "Friday" is back with another young prodigy and the hilariously bad track "Chinese Food."

FOR MARY PUES' REVIEW, *31 (I LIKED IT)* (LOS) AND *TIME'S* COMPLETE FILM COVERAGE, VISIT TIME.COM/MOVIES

By Nick Carbone, Kelly Conniff, Nate Rawlings, Lily Rothman and Journey Subramanian

Monsters Inc. Inside the weird world of professional haunting

By Lily Rothman

A BLOODED STAIN MARKS THE DRESSMAKER'S DUMMY THAT guards the door to Michael Jubie's office. Beyond that silent sentry and up an old staircase, Jubie commands 250 two-way radios and a split-screen array of the security cameras that watch over Headless Horseman Hayrides & Haunted Houses in Ulster Park, N.Y., the autumnal attraction he co-owns. Its 45 acres are home to six haunted houses. Inside, Jack the Ripper's gutted victims share space with portraits that come alive as you pass and twitching baby dolls with eyes that seem to follow you. It is, in a word, scary.

But these days *scary* isn't so easy to define. Anecdotally, many independent haunts are going gangbusters, despite gloomy signs. (The National Retail Federation has found that Halloween spending is down, with about 12 million fewer Americans planning to celebrate this year than last, and Yahoo data show fewer searches for haunted houses.) Those in the industry say low numbers are likely an aberration and that business can be affected by any number of things, like weather or elections. The obstacle that *does* come up over and over in conversations with hauntings is not about getting customers interested—it's about how people are getting harder to frighten.

"I firmly believe that the pop-out scare, the quick startle, still is the best scare," says Jubie. "But our guests are looking for Hollywood-quality sets and scares."

"As we evolve as an industry, it becomes more challenging to scare people," echoes Jim Schopf, an owner of Field of Screams, near Lancaster, Pa. "When we started this, we took our cornfield, mowed a path, bought masks and scared people by jumping out of the corn. That doesn't do it anymore."

A lot's at stake in haunted houses' getting scarier. Haunting has become what Ben Armstrong, who runs Netherworld, near Atlanta, calls "an entire miniature economy" of vendors and artisans. The industry even has a trade group, the Haunted Attraction Association (HAA). (A schism among scaringers about things like officer term limits has led some hauntings to reject the HAA. "We denounce them," says Amber Arnett-Bequeith, who runs the Edge of Hell, in Kansas City, Mo., and is a member of America Haunts, a group that bills itself as representing

Not scared at
the Headless
Horseman in
Ulster Park,
N.Y.? You may
already be
undead





"premier" haunts only.) In 2008, the hauntings' trade show announced that it would spin off from the general Halloween retail show; its first year, it drew about 100 exhibitors and 1,500 buyers. Now, according to Jennifer Braverman, who owns TransWorld, the company that runs the show, those numbers are close to 800 and 8,000. There's no firm count of America's professional independent haunted houses, but there may be thousands, and just one can pull in that many customers per night.

Harder to Horrify

HAUNTERS DISAGREE ABOUT THE CAUSE of their customers' rising shock resistance and how to respond to it. Arnett-Bequeath—her family has been in the business for nearly 40 years, and she took childhood naps in a prop coffin—is in the camp that says a culture of normalized violence, often shown in realistic CGI, may be to blame. "Kids today, it takes so much more to get them to that level, that fear reaction," says Arnett-Bequeath. "They're so used to it, you know? They see [violence] in the movies, they see it if they're playing video games."

The links between Hollywood and the haunted-house industry are particularly extensive—film trends lead haunt trends—and given the current zombie zeitgeist, blood and guts are on moviegoers' menus. "As our culture gets more sexualized and more violent, you see it in Halloween, which is basically an expressive holiday, or in haunted houses," says Lesley Bannatyne, author of *Halloween Nation*. "It's not red lights and buzzers anymore. It's a lot of blood."

Ghost shows date back centuries, and American trick-or-treating traditions were commercialized in the post-World War II suburbs, but the hardcore Halloween of today is only decades old. David J. Skal, author of *Death Makes a Holiday: A Cultural History of Halloween*, says that in the 1970s, urban legends and scattered reports of Halloween violence made the holiday more ominous, a time when it wasn't safe to be on the streets. Meanwhile, popular culture ramped up the fear factor. Between the 1969 opening of the tame-for-today Haunted Mansion at Disneyland, the grandfather of the commercial haunt, and John Carpenter's 1978 shockfest, *Halloween*, the

Timeline of Terrors

Haunted houses aren't a new idea—Fairbanks House, one of the U.S.'s oldest homes, is supposedly haunted—but creepy commerce is a more recent development.



Disneyland's Haunted Mansion opens, spurring the growth of commercial haunts.

1978

The Jaycees (U.S. Junior Chamber) rule the charity-haunt world, so two members write what may be the first haunt how-to



The film *Halloween* shows movement toward a holiday that's about actually scaring people, not just getting candy.

2009

The haunted-house trade show separates from the Halloween retail trade show, establishing haunts as its own industry, not just a sector of the costume biz.



Shocktoberfest, near Reading, Pa., ups the ante with a plan for a naked haunt (but the idea is quashed).

decade started putting forth new visions of Halloween-adjacent horror, driving the growth of pay-to-enter haunts.

Now the industry is just old enough for fans to be hardened too. "When I started out, we were able to entertain with rough masks and plastic knives. Twenty-two years later, you cannot do what you did in the past," says Patrick Konopelski, who runs Shocktoberfest, near Reading, Pa., and is president of the HAA. "It's our job to deliver every year a bigger, badder and better scare."

One idea that Konopelski hoped to try out this year was a haunted-house tour that visitors would enter naked (to make them feel more vulnerable, he says). Objections from local municipalities persuaded him to dial back to an underwear tour. A less controversial solution is the turn to technology. At haunted houses all across the U.S., silicone masks that closely resemble skin and can cost hundreds of dollars have largely replaced latex ones; projectors create walls crawling with bugs; flat screens make haunted windows; fog and lights create a swampy miasma; hidden laser beams—tripped by visitors as they pass—trigger the action. An animatronic monster with a live actor, usually inside, is called a shocktronic. For \$3,770, a company called the Horror Dome will sell you one—a robotic Huge Zombie Mom that births a human being in a "bloody flesh leotard and baby mask." Last year haunt producer Steve Kopelman tried a new idea at his Phoenix location. Visitors were tracked with radio-frequency identification tags, and if they granted access to their Facebook pages, photos of their friends would appear on the walls as they made their way through the house. "It's really creepy," he (unnecessarily) explains.

There's a macabre industry refrain, Shocktoberfest's Konopelski says, that sums up its shock-inflation problem: The only way to satisfy customers would be to cut off their arms and slap them upside the head with them.

On the other hand, so to speak, sometimes a scare takes no effort at all—even when the victim is a seasoned haunter like Michael Jubie. "When you work in the corn maze, if the wind is blowing just right, you don't even have to have people out there," he says. "You get a startle just from the corn."

Style

Tattoo Timeline

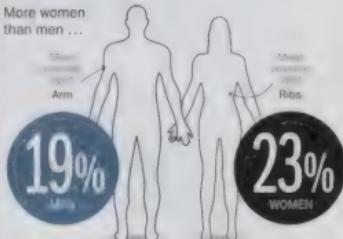
An inkredible journey from taboo to trendy

By Emily Maltby

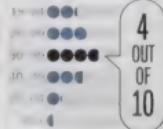
BLAME IT ON A SOCIETY THAT CRAVES PERSONALIZATION. Or a wave of tattooists trained in fine art. Whatever the cause, tattoos—once reserved for rebels, military men and circus performers—are mainstream, especially for 30-somethings. Nearly 4 out of every 10 Americans in their 30s have been inked. Still, tats are controversial. The Army is set to ban them below the knees and elbows for new recruits, and the health department in Washington, D.C., proposed a 24-hour waiting period for those wanting ink. Here's how body art has evolved.

Who Gets Inked

More women than men ...



... people in their 30s ...



... and Hispanics



30% HISPANIC

Can you guess where these people have—or had—ink?



Sources: Harris Interactive; TattooHistorian.com; TattooArchive.com; National Tattoo Association; TIME research

Books

Planet *Terroir*. The wine world is expanding—care for a Changyu red?

By Bill Saporito



HUGH JOHNSON PEERS into a glass of a jasmine-yellow white wine from the Republic of Georgia and sees an intriguing history and a promising future. "The Georgians are convinced that they invented wine 7,000 or 8,000 years ago," he says. "Their way of doing it has been considered out of the ordinary. Suddenly there are people all over the wine world who are really learning from Georgian methods." As he and Jancis Robinson write in the seventh edition of *The World Atlas of Wine* (Mitchell Beazley; 400 pages; \$55 hardcover, \$29.99 eBook), evidence of prebiblical vines has been uncovered in the region. The wine is something of a discovery too—tannic and biting, a real mouthful—made from a native grape called rkatsiteli and fermented in a *queri*, a clay pot buried in the ground.

Georgia's Kakheti region has little in common with the Napa or Loire valley, but that's exactly the thrust of this edition. The global wine scene has changed more in the past five years than in the previous 20, which makes this version of the book Johnson first published solo in 1971 less a revision of a standard text and more a guided tour of wine's developing world.

Johnson, the dean of English wine scholars, made news in May by initiating the first auction of his vast wine collection, which brought about \$235,000. He's been writing about the stuff for half a century since joining *Vogue* out of Cambridge. His *Pocket Wine Book* is a best-selling cheat sheet for demystifying wine lists. Robinson got into grapes while studying math and philosophy at Oxford—then a year in Provence from 1974 to '75 sealed the deal. A columnist for the *Financial Times*, she is a bona fide celebrity in England and the first critic to earn Britain's Master of Wine status. They are the Lewis and Clark of wine exploration.

And there's much to explore. Climate change, for instance, is altering the viti-

cultural atlas in startling ways. Southern England is now warm enough to grow the same grapes—pinot noir, chardonnay and pinot meunier—as its neighbors across the Channel in Champagne. "Wine is very sensitive, the canary in the coal mine," says Robinson. From Chile to Sweden, vines are creeping toward the poles as the temperature rises. Johnson takes great pleasure, as an English oenophile would, in the sparkling wine now being produced by Ridgeview in Ditchling, Sussex. Its chalky *terroir* replicates Champagne's; now it has weather and a bubbly to match.

On the economic front, it's no surprise that the big foot of a wealthier-by-the-day China is stomping on yet one more industry. The Chinese, much like nouveaux riches Japanese in the 1980s, are pouring their profits into French wine, driving prices of first growths through the roof and making Hong Kong the most important wine-auction market. "So effective has the Bordeaux sales machine been that a considerable proportion of the fortunes recently made in China have been spent on red Bordeaux," Johnson and Robinson write.

Robinson, who has traveled extensively in the country, reports on the incredible pace of its domestic wineries; the Ningxia region is busily trying to fashion itself into China's wine center. Its Changyu Moser red, says Johnson, could easily pass for a minor Bordeaux. The nation is a rising power, exporting its wine along with everything else.

The World Atlas of Wine has always had extraordinary scope, and the seventh edition is no different, walking readers through the beverage's biography from prehistory to modern manufacturing methods. It explains *terroir*, weather, corks, grape varieties and how to drink and enjoy wine, before delving into geography. Johnson's and Robinson's style is informed and expert but not a lecture, always delivered with the right amount of cheek. The reputation of German wines,



Jefferson may have failed as a grower, but a new industry is blossoming.

The wine-producing area is stretching the map.

they write, "was seriously damaged in the late 20th century by [the export of] vast quantities of sugar water ... This sort of bulk wine is now firmly in retreat. And not a minute too soon."

As in the previous editions, the cartography is impressively, even excessively detailed in its explication of famous regions, such as Barolo in Italy and Burgundy in France. In the e-book version, there's the added feature of interactivity, allowing you to zoom in and out of the intricate *terroir* of, say, Beaune in Burgundy. The pair have added 25 maps of new growing areas, and additions to earlier maps reflect the expansion of familiar territory. In Chile, for instance, the vineyards have been stretching farther north and south, so its map can no longer



be contained on a page. It now spills sideways across two pages.

Even the Old World is new. Istria, a part of Croatia and once part of Italy, marks another trend coursing through the wine world: the re-emergence of native grapes. Robinson swirls a glass of Istrian malvasia that she says illustrates the shift: "Everyone is getting tired of the same old varieties—cabernet and chardonnay." Malvasia produces a wine that is "much more local and fascinating than, say, pinot grigio," she says.

It's a lesson that South Africa is learning too, having planted chardonnay and sauvignon blanc for years while trying to match global trends. But with the world awash in chards, what's the point? So the South Africans have rediscovered old

chenin blanc vines in Swartland, north of the well-known Stellenbosch region. The old vines can't pump out the volume that new vines do, but the wine they produce is far more distinctive.

Perhaps the biggest surprise is that Johnson and Robinson have carved out two pages for Virginia, the newest chapter in the American wine story. Early versions of the atlas had virtually no reference to Washington and Oregon, which are now such remarkable producers of riesling and pinot noir, respectively, that each merits its own detailed section. Virginia's history with the grape is Revolutionary: founding vintner Thomas Jefferson tried to cultivate imported European vines, but the climate and critters proved to be too much; he was forced to buy French Boxwood

Estate's merlot-dominated blend, though, shows that Virginia wineries have solved those 18th century problems and can produce wines that Californians would have to respect.

Anyone who is serious about wine or wants to get deeper into the subject can use a resource like *The World Atlas of Wine*. It's consumer-friendly too in that each section features labels from the area's best vineyards, handy when you want to hunt for a Sicilian nero d'Avola or a Rias Baixas albariño to supplant your boring old cabernet or chardonnay. But even for those of us who are a little less intense about the subject, it's a beautifully done book that is more than interesting enough to spend time with, perhaps along with a nice glass of Virginia red. ■

Joel Stein

Seal of Approval

The government shutdown helps those who help sign off on wine labels



THE SHUTDOWN has proved that America can get by without a federal government but not without our billionaires and celebrities. John Arnold donated \$10 million to Head Start. The late Zachary Fisher's charity is sending death benefits to military families whose checks are delayed. Stephen Colbert wedded a couple whose ceremony at the Jefferson Memorial was canceled. And TIME.com (a celebrity insofar as it has more Twitter followers than Tom Cruise) replaced the National Zoo's panda cam by pointing a webcam at a stuffed animal sitting near the writers' cubicles and, I'm guessing, paying it the same amount.

Clearly, the government shutdown is a critical opportunity to gain positive publicity for your brand. So I needed to quickly stake my claim on a portion of the former federal government. I was looking to bankroll a program that was small yet something people cared about. Anything involving poor people was out. As were food safety, work safety, market regulation, the environment, the arts, the courts, nuclear waste and anything having to do with foreign countries.

As I was reading descriptions of shuttered government programs and getting really bored, my brother-in-law Ian Barry told me he just got a license to operate his own winery, Barry Family Cellars, in upstate New York but can't

sell bottles until his label is approved by the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau. Which is closed. In fact, the nation will enjoy no new brands of wine, beer or liquor until the government reopens and possibly longer if, as I suspect, the guy who looks at labels comes back with a hangover. Which means that all this time, the Chinese will be gaining on us in lime-infused beers, marshmallow-flavored vodkas and knockoff Barry Family Cellars Vineyards pinot noir.

Unfortunately, my patriotic offer to pay the label inspector was rebuffed. Representative Peter DeFazio, an Oregon Democrat and a co-chair of the House Small Brewers Caucus, said the agency couldn't even function enough to give me a cost estimate for a job that he agreed was totally dumb. "I had no idea they were approving each and every label and every different size of bottle," DeFazio said. "One good thing has come out of the shutdown. I'm going to find out how to do some partial deregulation." Maybe having the government stop inspecting every label detail is a good thing that came from the shutdown, or maybe it's a good thing that came from celebrity philanthropist Joel Stein.

But I still needed a government service to take over. I found out that the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration hasn't been able to test-crash as much as one Fiat since the shutdown. Destroying cars is something I'm so good at that I've done

it when I wasn't even trying. But staffers for Representative Lee Terry, Republican of Nebraska, who has authored two bills to provide emergency funding for crash testing during the shutdown, said it would cost me more than \$200,000 a week. This seemed ridiculous. Letting people smash up cars is something the government could actually make money doing. So I've asked *Jackass* star Johnny Knoxville to pay for the privilege. Not only will we know the results of front-end collisions and rollovers, but we'll also see how cars do on sharp turns at 120 m.p.h. while

three drunk guys in the back seat light their farts.

I was also concerned that NASA has suspended its Twitter feed, denying more than 5 million followers updates such as "@astro_Luca put #Canadarm in motion and installed #Cygnus to #ISS #Harmony node" and other things there's no way 5 million people understand. So I've thought up someone far better at getting people excited about space to run NASA's account: Alfonso Cuarón, director of the movie *Gravity*. I know he can tell interesting stories with 140 characters because he was able to do it in *Gravity* with barely two.

I've got plans to reopen the park system (UFC fighters rip holes in gates), restart IRS audits (Larry Page writes an algorithm) and rehire all government employees (Warren Buffett pays them). I will make sure all these randomly selected parts of our government keep running until either the shutdown ends or Thursday, when I've got to drive up to my college reunion.

I'll do it because I know that when the 99% can't put aside minor disagreements to provide basic services for one another, America will finally get the celebrityocracy we deserve. We will be a shiny city upon a hill, with *Us Weekly* as our paper of record, the *Forbes* 400 as our House of Representatives and a panda cam with the highest production values of any panda cam in the world. It will be a country I will finally celebrate being part of. Because it will be celebrating me. ■



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10 Questions

Baseball star Reggie Jackson on the value of ego, his disappointments and why the Mets turned him down

You've already written an autobiography. Why write *Becoming Mr. October*?

I was embarrassed by the *Bronx Is Burning* miniseries [on the 1977 World Series] by ESPN. I thought I'd take my turn to talk about what was important during that era.

You write that a lot of people have forgotten the struggles of black players from your era. Is that a healthy sign?

I think it's part of moving forward. I know my daughter doesn't know what I went through. She's a mixed child, 22 years old. Lives a great life. Love her to death. But she doesn't understand the makeup of people from my era.

Last year just 8% of the opening roster of the major league baseball teams was African American, way down from when you played. Why is that?

I don't have an answer. I've talked to our commissioner, and there's an effort in Major League Baseball to try to rectify it. They don't have the issues in football or basketball. It may be the significant cost of being on a traveling [youth] baseball team.

In the book you claim the Mets didn't draft you out of college because you were dating a Mexican girl ...

I was supposedly dating out of my race. My college coach told me that the Mets would pass because they thought I could be a social problem

for their organization.

Bud Selig, the baseball commissioner, is about to retire. Would you like the job?

Sure, I'd like the job. Why not? It looks like Rob Manfred is going to get it.

Why haven't you been a coach?

I was offered a coaching job a couple of times. I didn't want to put the hours in. They're at the ballpark 12 to 14 hours a day. It wasn't the lifestyle I wanted.

Who do you think is the best baseball player right now?

Probably Miguel Cabrera with the Detroit Tigers. He hits .350, .360, hits 40 to 45 home runs, drives in 140. Plays every day. Won the Triple Crown in 2012. Flirted with the Triple Crown again in 2013.

You own a lot of cars.

Several dozen—I'll just leave it at that.

Is there one that has really grown on you?

I bought a Ferrari in the early '90s, and I paid a few

Jackson claims to have given former Oakland A's batboy MC Hammer his name because he looked like Hammerin' Hank Aaron



hundred thousand for it, and it's worth 100 times that. So it's my favorite.

You write that you think your ego helped you play. What do you mean?

Every successful person has an ego. Some people manage theirs better than others. I guess it's that quiet ego that strikes fear in you, the loud one that you don't pay attention to. I think egos are important in sports.

Have you ever disappointed yourself?

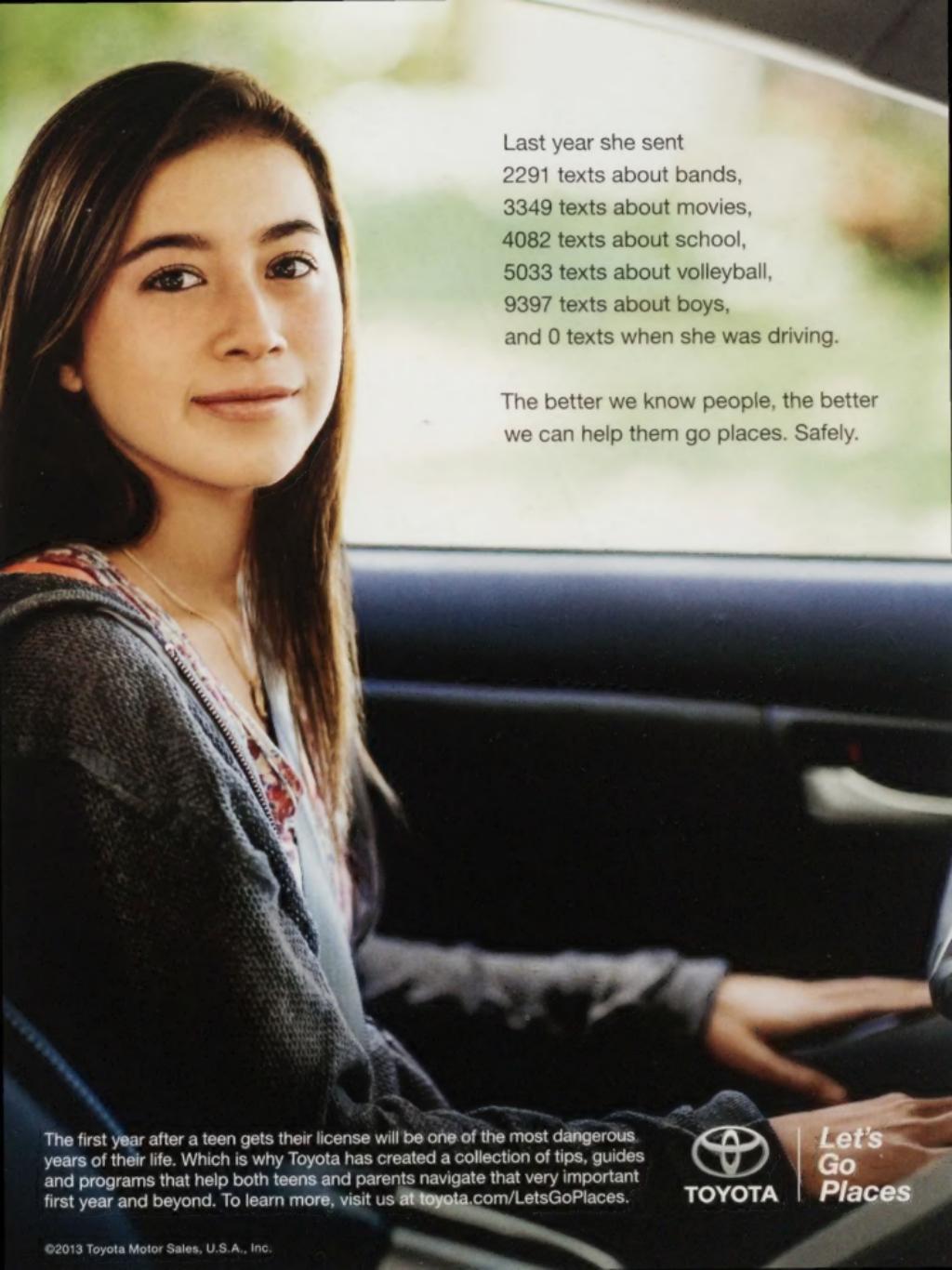
Yes. I disappointed myself last year when I got caught up [talking about Yankee star Alex Rodriguez] in a SPORTS ILLUSTRATED story. I said what I said. I owned it, but I was disappointed in myself for being stupid. And I wonder sometimes if I should have become a baseball manager or a business guy. I'm not regretful of anything. I feel very blessed that God has led me down a really nice path. I've probably missed a mate, a female mate, where I've made mistakes or I wasn't quite ready at the time to be with a person.

Do you have any Reggie! bars around your house?

I do have some. They're frozen hard. I don't know if I would survive if I ate one because they're that old.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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Last year she sent
2291 texts about bands,
3349 texts about movies,
4082 texts about school,
5033 texts about volleyball,
9397 texts about boys,
and 0 texts when she was driving.

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